RESEARCH REPORT ON

REVISITING FOREIGN NEWS IN INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS		PAGE(S)
Table of Contents		i - ii
Declaration		iii
Acknowledgement		iv
Synopsis		v-vii
List of Tables		viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION		
1.1	Study Background	1-2
1.2	International News Distribution System	3-4
1.2.1	News Agencies Cartel	4-6
1.3	Free-Flow Concept	6-7
1.4	Voices for Free and Balanced Flow	7-9
1.4.1	New Order Demand Reaches UNESCO	9-12
1.4.2	MacBride Commission	12-13
1.4.3	MacBride Report: NWICO Unfolds	13-16
1.4.4	IPDC: NWICO Outcome	16-17
1.4.5	US Withdraws From UNESCO	17-19
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE		
2.1	The News Process	20-21
2.2	News Values	21-22
2.3	News Flow Patterns	22-26
2.4	Early Foreign News Studies	26-27
2.4.1	Foreign News Quantity and Content	27-30
2.4.2	Prime Sources of Foreign News: TNNAs	30-32
2.4.3	Contradictory Findings and Explanations	32
2.5	Contextual Studies	33-36
CHAPTER 3: OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY		
3.1	Study Objectives	37-38
3.2	Newspaper Sample	38-39
3.3	Two Composite Week Sample	39-40
3.4	Content Categories	40-41
3.5	Generic Categories	41
3.6	Placement Categories	41
3.7	Geographic Categories	42
3.8	News Source Categories	42
3.9	News Topic Categories	42-43
3.10	News Direction Categories	44
3.11	Base of Analysis	44
3.12	Coding Reliability	44-45
3.13	Scope and Limitations	45-46

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1	Foreign Quantity: Notable Increase	47-49
4.2	Decrease in Frontpage Placement	49
4.3	Foreign News Relevance: Marginal Changes	50
4.4	Generic Type of Foreign News: Noticeable Changes	50-51
4.5	Regions in Foreign News: Largely Similar	52-53
4.6	Countries in Foreign News: No Drastic Changes	54-56
4.7	Foreign News Topic: Not Many Changes	57-59
4.8	Foreign News Direction: Increase in Neutral Stories	59-62
4.9	Foreign News Sources: Indian Sources Lead	62-64
4.10	Summary of Findings	64-67

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1	Recap of Study Backdrop and Plan	68-70
5.2	Conclusions	70-75
5.3	Suggestions	75-76

REFERENCES 77-85

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Front Page Foreign News Headlines in Sampled Dailies in 2016 86-87
Appendix B: World Regions and Countries in Foreign News in 1986 & 2016 88-94
Appendix C: Foreign News Topics by Newspapers in 2016 95
Appendix D: Direction of Foreign News by Countries in 2016 96-100

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this project report titled **Revisiting Foreign News in Indian Newspapers,** is a record of my bonafide work in fulfilment of the UGC Emeritus Fellowship awarded to me vide Fellowship Award Letter No. F.6-6/2017-18/EMERITUS-2017-18-GEN-10659/(SA-II).

I further declare that there is no conflict of interest in the conduct of this research project.

May 4, 2020

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SYNOPSIS

THE decade of 1970 was a watershed in the annals of international communication as developing countries sought to redress imbalances extant in international news distributed by transnational news agencies (TNNAs) of Europe and the US ever since the early decades of the 20th century. The news distributed had by them flaws: the news flow was one-way, from the home countries of TNNAs to the rest of the world; the news focus was on a handful of developed countries; and the developing countries news besides being scant tended to present inaccurate pictures of their realities.

The developing countries resolve to correct imbalances in international news flow resulted in a series of developments: launch of the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP), a cooperative system of their news agencies non-aligned countries for a better news flow among themselves, in 1975; acrimonious debates in UNESCO over the demand of developing countries for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); and the constitution of a commission by UNESCO in 1976 for the study of communication problems in their totality under the chairmanship of Irish Nobel laureate Sean MacBride.

The 21th General conference of UNESCO held in 1980 was marked by landmark decisions. The Conference, while accepting the MacBride report, *Many Voices, One World,* which had dealt with varied facets of NWICO, adopted a resolution identifying 11 critical areas to realise NWICO goals. The very first area identified was about the elimination of imbalances and inequalities in international news flow in the news media. In that direction, the 21st General Conference established the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) to assist developing countries in strengthening their communication infrastructure and capabilities to reduce their dependence on international news agencies through a continuous and evolving process.

The complaints of imbalances in international news flow and the demand for NWICO had kindled my interest in news flow research. IAMCR foreign news study conducted for UNESCO in 1979 spanned across news media of 29 countries firmed up my interest in the area. At the end of the NWICO debates came the inspiring study of Yadav, an Indian member of IAMCR foreign news study team. Yadav had re-examined foreign news in Indian

newspapers in 1984 and compared it with the IAMCR 1979 data to gauge changes in international news content following the NWICO debates. To detect changes across time, I felt it more appropriate to analyse foreign news content in Indian newspapers before, during and after the NWICO debates. Accordingly, I analysed foreign news content in four Indian newspapers at four intervals – 1971, 1987, 1981, and 1986. While 1976 represented the pre-NWICO period, 1976 and 1981 corresponded to the NWICO debates period, and the year 1986 represented the post-NWICO period. The study results did not reveal any significant changes across time. There were imbalances in the coverage of developing and developed countries. A couple of developed such as the US and UK and a few developing countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and China had a consistently higher coverage in all periods of the study. There was no parochialism in the presentation of international news. The TNNAs had remained the primary sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers. However, the reliance on them had a slight decrease in 1986. There was no parochialism in the presentation of international news. Perhaps, a much longer time was necessary for the manifestation of significant changes. Hence, I undertook this study to revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986.

The report of the study is organised into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the study backdrop. An exhaustive review of literature relating to all facets of foreign news presented in the second chapter provides the study framework. The third chapter presents the study objectives and methodology. The 2016 revisit which was similar to 1986 study in all methodological aspects, examined changes in respect of foreign news (i) quantity and relevance, (ii) generic nature, (iii) coverage of world regions and countries, (iv) news topics, (v) direction, and (vi) sources.

Reported in the fifth chapter are the mixed findings of the study. The quantity of foreign news content had increased in 2016 as compared to 1986. Also, there was a significant increase in the news not relevant to India's interest. This trend indicates that foreign news in Indian newspapers is non-parochial – a positive feature of reporting foreign news by Indian newspapers. In respect of topics, sports news had remained the most reported topic followed by domestic politics, economics and trade, international politics. In both periods of the study, there were no significant changes in the coverage of geographic

regions and countries. The news reports on and about the US, UK, and Pakistan, were more salient than all other countries. Also, there was an increase in neutral reports about the reported-nations, another distinctive feature of foreign news in Indian newspapers. The most important finding was that Indian news sources had emerged as the primary sources of foreign news in 2016, and the TNNAs, the lead supplier of international news in 1986, stood relegated to the second position in 2016. The decline in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs is a welcome change that needs to be maintained as it provides for information sovereignty.

The fifth chapter offers a few suggestions for further research as changes in international news coverage are likely to recur across times. It will be more relevant to revisit international news in the news media of the developing and developed nations. While investigating the status of foreign news in Indian newspapers, it is advisable to cover Indian language newspapers, in particular Hindi dailies which have the highest circulation and readership among all newspapers. Such studies will be of value in understanding the similarities and differences in foreign news programming practices of English and Indian language dailies.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES **PAGE(S)**

Table 1: Foreign News Quantity in 1986 and 2016 50

Table 2: Placement of Foreign News in 1986 and 2016 51

Table 3: Relevance of Foreign News in 1986 and 2016 52

Table 4: Generic Types of Foreign News in 1986 and 2106 53

Table 5: World Regions in Foreign News in 1986 and 2016 55

Table 6: Top 24 Countries with Highest News Items in 1986 and 2016 57

Table 7: Foreign News Topics in 1986 and 2016 59

Table 8: Direction of Foreign News in 1986 and 2016 62

Table 9: Top 24 Countries high on Unfavorable News in 2016 63

Table 10: Foreign News Sources in 1986 and 2016 65

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 STUDY BACKGROUND

INTERNATIONAL news flow debates raged in international fora in the 1970s and early 1980s. The root cause of the discussions were the imbalances inherent in the global news distribution system, the domain of four transnational news agencies (TNNAs) – Reuters of Britain, Associated French Presse (AFP) of France, and Associated Press (AP) and Unites Press International (UPI) of the US – since the beginning of the 20th century. The dependence on TNNAs was substantially high in the developing countries as their newsgathering systems were rudimentary. As a result, the developing countries were the passive recipients of news distributed by the TNNAs, which while focusing on developed nations, paid scant attention to developing countries, and often presented a distorted picture of their reality. Hence, the developing countries sought to reduce their dependence on the TNNAs and raised the imbalances issues in international fora. The cohesive impetus needed for action in this regard came from the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) which they had formed in 1961 to remain neutral in the Cold War politics between the Eastern bock led by the Soviet Union and the Western bock led by the US. First, they strived to set up national agencies and news exchange systems at the regional and interregional level for a better flow of news and information among themselves. A significant outcome of such endeavours was the setting up of Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) in 1975 as a cooperative system of news agencies of non-aligned countries.

Following the setting up of NANAP, the Non-Aligned countries raised the demand for a new international information order[1] in the 19th General Conference of UNESCO held in 1976. As the new order demand led to contentious arguments, the Conference felt it prudent to

[1] There has been no uniformity regarding the nomenclature of the 'new order'. The nonaligned nations coined the nomenclature New International Information Order in 1976. In 1980, the MacBride Commission used the nomenclature New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) which is more commonly used. To avoid misrepresentation arising out of the phrase 'New World', the nomenclature New International Information and Communication Order is also used.

review the problems of communication in totality. Accordingly, in 1977, UNESCO constituted the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems under the chairmanship of Irish Nobel laureate Sean MacBride. After studying diverse facets of global communication for over two years, the Commission finalised its exhaustive report addressing the issues of imbalances in international news and information flow. Much to the annoyance of the US and Western nations, the 20th General Conference UNESCO held in 1980 approved the MacBride Report.

Furthermore, it adopted Resolution 4.19, which identified the critical areas for the elimination of imbalances in information flow and for strengthening the communication capacities of the developing countries. Furthermore, the Conference resolved to establish the International Programme for the Development (IPDC) to assist the developing countries in strengthening their communication infrastructure and services. Ever since its establishment in 1982, the IPDC has been supporting the developing countries to build their communication capabilities.

The ascendency of news flow and NWICO debates in the mid-1970s triggered research interest among professional bodies and academics. The present researcher (Ahmed,1992) had undertaken a longitudinal analysis of foreign news in four India newspapers at four periods: 1971 (pre-NWICO period), 1976 and 1981 (NWICO debates period) and 1986 (post-NWICO period). The study results did not reveal any significant changes. The imbalances in the coverage of the developed and developing countries were very much in evidence across the four periods. The TNNAs had remained the primary sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers, though the contribution of Indian news sources had a slight increase in 1986. Perhaps, for significant changes to manifest in the media of the developing countries, a much longer time was necessary. Against this backdrop, the present study was conceived to revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986.

From the perspective of the present study, it is pertinent to have a view of all developments beginning from the evolution of transnational news agencies to the concerns of developing countries regarding imbalances in international news flow, and the steps taken by the developing countries and UNESCO to address issues of inequalities in the global new flow. A preview of these aspects is vital as it provides the study framework.

1.2 INTERNATIONAL NEWS DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

THE story of the international news distribution system is essentially the story of present-day TNNAs and the factors governing their operations worldwide. The global news distribution system evolved in the 19th century Europe, the cradle of technological innovations, a nerve centre of international trade and commerce, and the abode of colonial masters. For the business and empire-building activities of the European nations, a constant supply of information on foreign economic affairs, political and military matters was essential. These factors eventually resulted in the emergence of TNNAs, the wholesalers of news.

The first transnational news agency was Havas. Established in 1835 in Paris by French writer Charles-Louis Havas, it pioneered the field of distribution of news worldwide as a marketable commodity. It was renamed as Agence France-Presse (AFP) in 1944. Since then, AFP has retained its position as a leading transnational news agency. It has news bureaus in over 151 countries across the world.

In Germany, Bernhard Wolff, editor of a German newspaper established Wolff Telegraphic Bureau (WTB) in 1849. Though it survived WW I turbulence, the Nazi regime closed it in 1933. After WWII, Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA) was founded as a cooperative in 1949. DPA is not reckoned as a leading transnational news agency as its subscriber base is limited and confined to Europe and the Middle East.

Reuters was established in London in 1851 by Paul Julius Reuter, an ex-employee of Havas. Initially, Reuters transmitted stock market quotations between London and Paris via the first international cable laid across the English channel. Soon it expanded its client base across Europe and other continents and provided economic and general news from across the globe. In 2008, Thomson Corporation, a Canadian multinational media conglomerate, acquired Reuters. The change in its ownership has not affected its status as a principal international news agency. It operates from than 200 cities spread across 94 countries of different continents.

The Associated Press (AP), a leading US-based international news agency, had its origin in 1892, NYAP was incorporated with Western Associated Press in Illinois as the Associated Press. Headquartered in New York, it has bureaus in over 100 countries.

The present-day United Press International (UPI) has a lineage dating back to 1907. In that year, American newspaper publisher, E. W. Scripps launched United Press Association (UPA) by uniting three news syndicates. The International News Service (INS) set up by American publisher William Randolph Hearst in 1909 merged with UPA to become UPI in 1959. With several ownership changes since the 1980s, UPI has lost its importance as a TNNA.

The Russian news agency TASS (Telegraph Agency of Soviet Union) has a long lineage. its predecessor, St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency was set up as the first official news agency of Russia. It was renamed as Petrograd Telegraph Agency in 1914 and as Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA) in 1918. ROSTA was renamed is 1925 as TASS, the official news agency of Soviet Union. It was renamed again as the Information Telegraph Agency of Russia (ITAR-TASS) in January 1992 following the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the emergence of Russia as a sovereign nation in 1991. Though in 2014 it reverted to its earlier name, TASS, its positions as a source for foreign news has declined.

In the new Millennium, there are only three TNNAs – Reuters of the UK, AP of the US, and AFP of France. UPI of the US has lost its significance as a global news provider.

1.2.1 NEWS AGENCIES CARTEL

THE European news agencies in the early decades of their expansion co-operated to save on operational cost while retaining monopoly over their home regions. In 1856, Reuters, Havas and Wolff signed an agreement to exchange stock market news, and in 1859 they signed another accord for the exchange of political news. In 1869, the three European agencies formed the international cartel of news agencies for news exchange[2]. In 1883, the US news agency AP joined the cartel by agreeing to supply American news to European agencies and to distribute European news in the US. Under the cartel agreement, each agency was assigned exclusive right for its operations in specific regions, including the home country territories. Among the cartel signatories, the area of Reuters was the largest, as vast as the

[2] The cartel agreements had dual purposes: (1) to reduce the cost of foreign news gathering and (2) to protect their respective markets. Under the agreements, specific regions in the world were identified where each agency would have the right to collect and distribute news. These agreements while facilitating exchange of news among the agencies, helped each of the agencies to consolidate and perpetuate monopoly in its territory.

British empire spreading across Africa, Asia, America, Australia and Europe. The territory of Havas included France, the Mediterranean region, the French Empire, and South Africa. The operational area of WTB was restricted to a few countries in Eastern Europe, including Russia.

The status of AP in the cartel was insignificant as compared to Reuters, WTB and Havas as its operational area was confined to America. Though its jurisdiction was enhanced to deter it from leaving cartel to invade Europe, its domestic subscribers were not happy with the cartel as it tended to ignore the superpower status of the US[3]. Furthermore, its competitor UPA (present-day UPI), not bound by cartel agreements, had invaded Europe and was expanding its client base by tying-up with non-cartel European agencies. Against this backdrop, AP began to criticise Reuters and Havas for presenting a distorted picture of the US. The then Executive Manager of AP, Kent Cooper, the person credited to have brought an end to the European agencies' monopoly of the international news business, criticised Reuters, and Havas for the negative portrayal of the US. Cooper's (1942) complaints against Reuters was:

> So, Reuters decided what news to be sent from America. It told the World about Indians on the warpath in the West, lynching in the South and bizarre crime in the North. The charge for decades was that nothing credible to America was sent. American businessmen criticised the Associated Press for permitting Reuters to belittle America broad (p. 12).

He further noted:

> Their (Havas and Reuters) own countries were always glorified. This was done by reporting great advances at home in English and French civilisations, the benefits of which, would, of course, be bestowed on the World. Figuratively speaking, in the United States, according to Reuters and Havas, it was not safe to travel on account of the Indians (Cooper 1942, p. 43).

AP's criticism of European agencies monopoly of the international news distribution system in the 1930s was like the developing countries criticism of TNNAs in 1970s. Finally, AP ceded from the cartel in 1934, marking the end of the news cartel and beginning of the American news agencies expansion worldwide.

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[3] Following the end of Spanish-American war in 1898, the US power and influence worldwide surged ahead enabling it to emerge as a superpower by the end of WWI.

In 1944, the American Society of Newspaper Editors called upon the two major political parties, the Republicans and Democrats, to support news distribution throughout the world without restrictions. Both the parties responded positively. From this milieu, emerged the concept of the free flow of information, which soon became a part of the US policy.[4]

1.3 FREE-FLOW CONCEPT

US Senator, William Benton, in discussion with Paul Porter, Federal Communication Commissioner, articulated US interest and commitment to break artificial barriers to free flow of information:

> The State Department plans to do everything within its power along political or diplomatic lines to help break down the artificial barriers to the expansion of private American news agencies, magazines, motion pictures, and other media of communication throughout the world. Freedom of the press – and freedom of exchange of information generally – is an integral part of our foreign policy (Department of State, USA, 1946, p.160).

The US press joined the policymakers in promoting the free flow concept worldwide. A delegation of US press travelled around the World popularising the idea of the free flow of information (Schiller 1975, p.79). In December 1946, the UN General Assembly through Resolution 59.1 called for a Conference on Freedom of Information which was held in Geneva in 1948. At the Conference, the opposing view of the East and the West regarding the free-flow concept surfaced. Opposing the US stance for a free and unrestricted flow of communication, the Soviet Union declared that true freedom of communication would not come about so long as the media in the West remained in the hands of capitalists. Nothing much came out of the Conference, and the US continued to promote the free flow concept in the UN. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on Dec 10, 1948, reflected the free flow concept:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart

[4] A major factor that helped the growth of US agencies was the wireless transmission technology perfected at home (Bullion, 1982). Yet another factor was a general realisation in US of the advantages of control over world communication on foreign trade and commerce. Such a realization is considered to have prompted the US telegraph corporations to make their services available at a subsidised rate to US news agencies for news transmission to South America (Boyd-Barrett 1980: 72).

information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (UN, 1948, para 27).

The free flow principle reigned supreme in the post-WWII period. The TNNAs consolidate the monopoly as wholesalers of news for over two-third of the countries across continents. But the flow of news in the conduits of TNNAs had flaws as the news flow was one-way, from the home countries of TNNAs to the rest of the World. And the news was all about the developed countries; and the developing countries' news besides being scant presented an inaccurate picture of their realities.

Such imbalances and flaws in international news flow were of concern to the developing nations, most of whom had gained independence from their colonial masters in the post-World War II period. The Non-Aligned Movement[5], a collective of the developing countries, formed to remain neutral in the Cold War politics of the East and West blocks led by the USSR and the US respectively, provided the cohesive impetus for addressing the issues of imbalances in international news and information flow and in raising the demand for a new information order in the 1970s. By then, the non-aligned countries had become a force in changing the balance of power within the UN as they had gained in strength to articulate their concerns in diverse areas.

1.4 VOICES FOR FREE AND BALANCED FLOW

AT the 16th session of UNESCO General Conference held in 1970, delegates from the developing countries for the first time articulated the need for a two-way flow of news and information between the developed and developing nations. Also, they called for the

[5] Much of the credit for the development of non-aligned concept goes to Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister. He propounded the idea of non-alignment in one his broadcasts over All India Radio in 1946. From thereon he popularised the idea at home and in several international gatherings such as the Asia Relations Conference in 1947, the Conference on Indonesia in 1949 and the Colombo Conference of 1954. Soon, Nehru was joined by Josip Boriz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, and Gamal Abdal Nasser, President of Egypt, in advancing the concept of non-alignment . The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian nations held in 1955 in its declaration on World Peace and Cooperation underlaid the policy of nonalignment. And, , NAM was formally established in 1961 at the first Summit of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The Summit defined the goals of non-alignment marking the beginning of the joint activities of the non-aligned countries in the international arena. Its strength increased from 25 at the inaugural conference in 1961 to 102 at the Ninth Summit in 1989 at Belgrade.

strengthening of news agencies of their countries to overcome imbalances in news flow (UNESCO, 1971, p. 89).

The Fourth Summit of Non-Aligned countries held in 1973, in Algiers, was a significant landmark, for it was here that communication aspects were addressed in the context of their economic development programmes. Article 13 and 14 of the action programmes approved by the Fourth Summit stressed that developing countries should take concerted action for exchange of information about among themselves in all fields through suitable media (NAM, 1973, p 88). That was the starting point for a flurry of NAM activity for the exchange of news and information among themselves and for changes in the international communication system.

As the first step in that direction, Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, consulted news agencies of Non-Aligned countries on the possibility of setting up Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP). The NANAP guidelines were outlined in the letter of invitation sent in Dec 1974 to the news agencies of Non-Aligned countries to join the Pool. On Jan 30, 1975 NANAP came into being with Tanjug as the coordinating agency.

After about a year's experimentation, the NANAP was officially launched at the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries on the Press Agencies Pool held in New Delhi. July 8-13, 1976. The Conference attended by information ministers of 59 Non-Aligned member coordination committee with India as the first Chairman.

The NANAP was neither a supranational news agency, nor was it meant to replace any international news agency. It was merely a system for the exchange of news and information among the Non-Aligned countries and the participation of news agencies Non-Aligned countries whose participation was voluntary. Each participating agency was responsible for selecting news from its region and distributing it to other redistribution centres at its own cost. The receiving centres were free to use, edit and translate the news before distributing it to their subscribers in their home regions. It made encouraging strides in the decade following its establishment. The number of participant countries in NANAP system increased from 12 in 1975 to 87 at the end of 1984.

Following the setting up of NANAP, NAM activity in the area of international communication increased, leading to closer scrutiny of communication scenario in the

developing countries. One such exercise was undertaken at the Non-Aligned Symposium on Information at Tunis in March 1976. The Symposium, while critically examining the structural and operational aspects of communication for development, referred to the concept of new international information order for the first time in one of its resolution:

> "Since the information in the world shows disequilibrium favouring some and ignoring others, it is the duty of the non-aligned to change this situation and obtain the decolonisation of information, and initiate a new international order in information" (Pool Coordination Committee, 1983, p. 17).

The need for a new international order in information was reiterated at the first Conference of Information Ministers of Non-Aligned countries on NANAP in July 1976 in New Delhi. The Conference emphasised that the establishment of the New International Order for Information is as necessary as the New International Economic Order" (Pool Coordination Committee 1983, p. 104).

1.4.1 NEW ORDER DEMAND REACHES UNESCO

BY this time, UNESCO was cognisant of the inequalities in international news flow and the need for a balanced flow of news and information among nations[6]. In 1972, the two subjects relating to global communication surfaced in UNESCO, resulting in prolonged arguments.

The first subject stemmed from the growing fears among the socialist bloc countries and developing countries that the direct broadcasting satellite technology being perfected in the West for transmission of messages from a satellite directly to homes in foreign lands would have harmful effects on their culture as well as their media systems. Exploiting such perceived fears, the Soviet Union moved a resolution in 17th General Conference of UNESCO held in 1972 calling for a Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange. The Declaration noted that it should ensure "widest possible dissemination, among the peoples of the world, of news of all countries, developed and developing alike", and countries broadcasting via satellite should obtain the prior consent of nations receiving the broadcasts

[6] A shift in UNESCO's position from free-flow to that of 'balanced flow' came about at a UNESCO meeting of experts held Montreal in 1969 where the doctrine of free flow of information was recognised as a possible obstacle to international understanding and the need for a balanced flow of news and information was stressed (Galtung & Vincent, 1992).

(UNESCO, 1972, p. 2-3). The Declaration was carried with 55 in favour, seven against and 22 abstentions.

The second subject, which was more significant to the NWICO debates was another resolution sponsored by the Soviet Union with the support of the Non-Aligned countries. The resolution called upon the UNESCO Director-General to prepare a Declaration on the Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of Mass Media with a View to Strengthening of Peace and Understanding and Combating War, Propaganda, Racialism and Apartheid, hereafter referred to as Mass Media Declaration (MMD). Some saw the resolution in the West as "something of a red herring with the narrow aim of bringing UN pressure to bear on the foreign broadcast to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," (Righter 1981: 67). The resolution, while opening a new chapter in the East-West struggle, triggered the coalition of interests of the developing and Socialist countries (Pendakur 1984: 42). Irreconcilable arguments and discussions on the MMD drafts continued in the subsequent biennial conferences of UNESCO General Assembly.

The first draft on MMD was debated at the 18th General Conference of UNESCO held in 1974. The non-aligned and socialist countries in unison argued that a set of clearly defined codes created by national governments was the only way to guarantee unbiased and objective reporting, particularly of the developing countries. The Western delegates countered by asserting that free flow could be achieved if governments imposed no restrictions. Because of opposing arguments, the Conference referred the draft text to an intergovernmental conference of experts to examine and present a new draft to the 19th General Conference.

At the Intergovernmental Conference of experts held in Paris in 1975, a new controversy surfaced over the Arab delegates demand the inclusion of the word 'Zionism' in the preamble of the MMD. The most controversial portion of the draft which stirred a storm was Article XII which stated that states are responsible for activities in the international sphere of all media under their jurisdiction. This Article led to yet another round of ideological rhetoric at the 19th General Conference of UNESCO held in 1976. While the US refused to negotiate the draft declaration if this Article remained in it, the Soviet Union was unwilling to concur with the US objections.

Amid the East-West tug-of-war over the text of MMD in the 19th General Conference held in Nairobi in 1976, the non-aligned countries reverberated their demand for correcting the imbalances in the flow of news in international communication channels and for the establishment of new international information order. The diametrically opposing stands of the groups involved in the debates proved that it was not easy to reach a consensus on issues that divided the East and the West, and the North and the South. To avoid a further deepening of the crisis, the Conference postponed the consideration of the draft declaration to 20th General Assembly to be held in 1978 and adopted a resolution inviting the Director-General to undertake a review of the totality of the problems of communication in modern society. Accordingly, the Director-General constituted a 16-member Commission for the Study of Communication Problems under the Chairmanship of Seen MacBride, a distinguished diplomat and winner of both Noble Peace Prize and Lenin Peace Prize[7].

Also, the 19th General Conference invited the Director-General to provide a budget for a study on the image of foreign countries representing different social systems. The task of conducting the study was entrusted to the International Association of Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) in summer of 1977. Accordingly, IAMCR conducted the study and submitted its final report titled *Foreign News in the Media: International reporting in 29 countries* to UNESCO in 1980 (UNESCO, 1984). The study findings are detailed in the second chapter.

Just before the 20th UNESCO General Assembly Conference held in Nov 1978, the Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow got a new MMD drat prepared and circulated among the members. In the latest draft, Article XII had been dropped, and there was no reference to "Zionism' in the preamble against which the West had strong objections. When Conference opened, the East-West conflict was much in evidence. However, behind-the-scenes negotiations progressed and bore fruit. On Nov 28, 1978, M'Bow himself took the chair and presented the new MMD text retitled as 'Declaration on Fundamental Principles

[7] The members of the Commission were Elie Abel (US). Hubert Beuve-Merry (France), Sean MacBride (Ireland), Michio Nagai (Japan), Johannes Pietar Pronk (Netherlands), Betty Zimmerman (Canada), Sergei Losev (USSR), Bodgan Osolnik (Yugoslavia), Elebe Ma Ekonzo (Zaire), Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia), Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia), Mustapha Masmoudi (Tunisia), Fred Issac Akporuaro Omu (Nigeria), Gamal El Oteifi (Egypt), Juan Somavia (Chile), and Boobli George Verghese (India).

Governing the Contribution of the Mass Media in Strengthening Peace and International Understanding and in Combating War Propaganda, Racialism and Apartheid.' The response: loud applause. It secured the support of 90 member-states with only three opposing. The six-years-long controversy finally ebbed. The new text of the Declaration satisfied all. The US and her Western allies were particularly pleased as their efforts had succeeded in protecting the freedom of the press from what they viewed as the Soviet-inspired attack (Altschull, 1984; McPhail, 1987). The Soviet Union and her allies had in the preamble their viewpoints regarding propaganda. The developing countries were also satisfied as their demand for a free and balanced flow of information had been reaffirmed in more than one Article of the Declaration. In particular, Article VI had underlined the need to correct the inequalities in information flow:

> It is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries, and between these countries. To this end, their mass media must have conditions and resources for enabling them to gain in strength, expand and co-operate both among themselves and with the mass media in developed countries. (UNESCO, 1978, p. 103).

1.4.2 MACBRIDE COMMISSION

BEFORE examining the MacBride report, it is relevant to note the essentials of new order outlined by Mustapha Masmoudi, a member of Commission and Nigerian delegate of Tunisia to UNESCO. In his paper submitted to the Commission, Masmoudi (1981) had catalogued developing nations' complaints against the Western countries and their media empires, and the measure needed for the realisation of the new order. Accusing the major transnational news agencies of monopolising between the world information flow, he pointed out to the consequences that are detrimental to the interests of the developing countries:

> Such hegemony and domination are evident in the marked indifference of the media in the developed countries, particularly in the West, to the problems, concerns and aspirations of the developing countries... By transmitting to the developed countries only news processed by them…. the transnational media impose their way of seeing the World upon the developing countries. As a result, communities geographically close to each other sometimes learn about each other via these transnational systems. Moreover, the latter often seek to present these communities – when indeed they do show interest in them – in the most unfavourable light, stressing crises, strikes, street

> demonstrations, putsches, etc., or even holding them up in ridicule (Masmoudi, 1981, p, 79).

Masmoudi found the present legal framework governing international communication defective as it favoured a small number of developed countries at the expense of most developing countries. On the various aspects of legal structure, he noted:

> Freedom in information is presented as the corollary of freedom of opinion and freedom of expression… As a result, it has become an instrument of domination in the hands of those who control the media. In legal terms, it has resulted in the enshrining of the rights of the communicator while discarding his duties and responsibilities towards those to whom he is communicating.
>
> The right of access to information sources primarily benefits those who have the resources to obtain and impart information. This de facto situation has allowed certain major transnational corporations to turn this right into a prerogative and enabled the wealthy powers to establish their domination over the information channels (Masmoudi, 1981, p. 82).

Masmoudi was also aware that the new order could not be brought about quickly:

> It should be emphasised that this new order entails a thorough re-adjustment. It is no ready-made recipe, which could enable an unjust situation to be transformed overnight into one less unjust. Because, it is a product of a long history, the present situation cannot be put right quickly. (Masmoudi, 1981, p. 89).

Masmoudi's indictment of the international communication system and the developing countries call for a new order did not go unquestioned in the West. Rosemary Righter, a British journalist and member of the MacBride Commission, described the new order demand as restrictive in character and content (Righter, 1981). Eli Abel (1981), American journalist and academic, attributed the presence of gross imbalances in the international communication system to the historical process resulting in an uneven spread of development. According to Abel, elimination of inequalities requires a "massive international effort to increase the capacity for communication at every level – the individual, the community, the nation, and among nations" (p. 104).

1.4.3 MACBRIDE REPORT: NWICO UNFOLDS

THE MacBride Commission began its work in Dec 1977. As mandated by UNESCO, the Commission had four significant lines of inquiry, namely:

(a) to study the current situation in the field of communication and to identify problems which call for fresh action at the national level and a concerted, overall approach at the international level taking into account the diversity of socio-economic conditions and levels and types of development,

(b) to study the problems relating to the free and balanced flow of information, and how the needs of the developing countries link with the flow,

(c) to analyse communication problems in the light of the NIEO and the measures need to be taken to foster the institution of a 'new world information order', and

(d) to define the role of communication in making public opinion aware of the problems besetting the World and helping gradually to solve them by concerted action at the national and international levels (MacBride Commission, 1980, pp. 42-43).

The Commission met eight times at UNESCO headquarters in Paris for facilitating discussion among its members. Also, it organised four round table discussions in Sweden, Yugoslavia, India, and Mexico, received some one hundred background papers from professionals and scholars around the World, and investigated the new order issues thoroughly. Drawing upon the vast amount of material and the expertise of its members, the Commission finalised its report and submitted it to UNESCO in October 1980.

The five-part Report of the Commission published as *Many Voices, One World: Towards a New, More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order* (MacBride Commission, 1980) addressed all conceivable areas of communication and information: social, political, economic, cultural, education and technological dimensions of contemporary communication; the new order issues of imbalances and inequalities at national and international levels; concentration and monopoly of global communication channels; flaws in communication flows; democratisation of communication; communication policies; rights and responsibilities of journalists, professional conduct and other related areas.

The report viewed the concepts such as the free and balanced flow of information as the natural outgrowth of the basic principles of freedom, the "foundation of the present call for a New World Information Order" (MacBride Commission, 1980, p.142). The Commission had dealt with international information flow aspects in part three of the report in the context of current problems, and the rights and responsibilities of journalists.

As there were many meanings of the 'new order' and what it encompasses, the Commission did not venture upon giving a comprehensive definition of the new order. However, it was convinced that "structural changes in the field of communication are necessary and that the existing order is inacceptable to all" (p. xviii). Thus, the Commission felt that the new order could be brought through a multi-stage dynamic process whose goals would be "more justice, more equity, more reciprocity in information exchanges, less dependence in communication flows, less downward diffusion of messages, more self-reliance and cultural identity, more benefits for all mankind" (p. xviii).

In part five of the report, the Commission provided 82 recommendations covering all aspects of communication within and among countries concerning formulation of communication policies; strengthening the capacities of all media and news agencies to improve national and international reporting; development support communication; integration of communication into development process; sharing of communication technologies; journalists' professional integrity and standards for improved global reporting; protection of journalist; democratisation of communication by removing all obstacles; fostering international cooperation; strengthening collective self-reliance of the developing countries, "a cornerstone of a new world information and communication order" (p.269); role of media in fostering international understanding without "advocating national, racial, or religious hatred" (p.271); and responsibility of media in "reporting on international developments or individual countries in situations of crises and tension" (p. 272).

Though not a 'definitive work' as MacBride himself had described it in the preface to the Report (MacBride Commission, 1980: xviii), it was hailed as one of the "most civilised reports published under UN auspices" (Singh & Gross, 1981, p.107).

The Commission's Report was accepted by the 21st General Conference of UNESCO held in 1980. Based on the Commission's recommendations, the General Conference unanimously adopted Resolution 4.19 enlisting the 11 critical areas, that needed to be addressed to bring about NWICO. The areas were:

(a) this new world information and communication order could be based, among other consideration, on:

(i) elimination of the imbalances and inequalities which characterise the present situation,

(ii) elimination of the negative effect of certain monopolies, public or private, and excessive concentrations,

(iii) removal of the internal and external obstacles to free flow and wider and better- balanced dissemination of information and ideas,

(iv) plurality of sources and channels of information,

(v) freedom of the press and information,

(vi) the freedom of journalists and all professionals in the communication media, a freedom inseparable from responsibility,

(vii) the capacities of developing countries to achieve the improvement of their own situations, notably by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures and by making their information and communication media suitable to their needs and aspiration,

(viii) the sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives,

(ix) respect for each people's cultural identity and for the right of each nation to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations and its social and cultural values,

(x) respect for the right of all peoples to participate in international exchanges of information on the basis of equality, justice and mutual benefits,

(xi) the respect for the right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and of individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively in the communication process,

(b) this new world information communication order could be based on the fundamental principles of international law, as laid down in the Charter of United Nations,

(c) diverse solution to information and communication problems are required because social, political, cultural, and economic problems differ from one country to another and, within a given country, from one group to another (UNESCO, 1980, p.71)

1.4.4 IPDC: NWICO OUTCOME

To move from NWICO rhetoric to action, UNESCO Director-General convened an Intergovernmental Conference in April 1980, in Paris. The Intergovernmental Conference

recommended for the establishment of an International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) within the framework of UNESCO[8]. Accordingly, the 21st General Conference adopted a resolution to set up IPDC within the framework of UNESCO and to elect a 35-member Inter-Governmental Council to reduce the gap between developed and developing countries in communication field by strengthening communication infrastructure and services through international cooperation and assistance (UNESC0, 1980. p.73). The wide-ranging objectives to be implemented by the 35-member Inter-Governmental Council can be collapsed into four categories:

1. To assist the developing countries to analyse their communication needs and plan and develop their capacities to contribute to their economic, social and cultural development. Also, promote reciprocity among the developing countries in the field of communication.
2. To co-operate and coordinate the activities of all nations engaged in international communication development. And act as a link between those who need assistance and those who can assist.
3. To serve as a centre for collecting and circulating information relating to the international cooperation in the field of communication development and contribute process; and
4. To seek and mobilise funds for communication development projects and allocate funds to carry out the objectives.

The IPDC commenced work at its Second Session in Acapulco in 1982 with a large stack of project proposals and minimal financial guarantees. Between the Second Session in 1982 and the Seventh Session held in January 1986, it allocated $ 9.74 million for some 120 communication projects in the developing countries including three regional and 12 national news agency projects[9] (UNESCO, 1986). Such assistance which continues in the new Millennium is geared to realise NWICO goals which as noted by the 22nd General Conference of UNESCO held in April 1983, is achievable through an "evolving and continuous process" (UNESCO, 1984, p 28).

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[8] The decision of UNESCO to set up IPDC was in line with the resolution moved by Tunisian representative Mustapha Masmoudi in the 19th General Conference of UNESCO held in 1976 to assist the developing countries strengthen their communication capabilities and to correct existing imbalances and inequalities. UNESCO had accepted the resolution.

[9] The three news agency projects were: Pan African News Agency (PANA), the Agencia Latinoamericana de Servicios Especiales de Información (ALASEI), and the Asia-Pacific News Network (ANN). Financial assistance was provided for the development of national agencies of 12 developing countries, namely, Angola, Cameroon, Guinea Bissau, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Mozambique, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Tunisia. (UNESCO, 1986).

1.4.5 US WITHDRAWS FROM UNESCO

THOUGH the acceptance of the MacBride Report and the setting up of the IPDC were based on unanimous decisions of the 21st General Conference of UNESCO, the West was unhappy with UNESCO's activities in the international communication field. Its suspicion that UNESCO might promote programmes restricting press freedom got reinforced when UNESCO called a meeting in February 1981 in Paris to discuss the establishment of a commission for the projection of journalists. Though nothing much came out of the meeting, the Western media saw in it an imminent threat to free press. In May 1981, the World Press Freedom Committee organised a conference titled 'Voices of Freedom: A World Conference of Independent Media' in Talloires, France. UNESCO and NWICO were the targets to attack at the Conference. The Western opposition to NWICO and UNESCO hardened at the Fourth Extraordinary Session of UNESCO convened in 1982 for approving the draft of Second Medium-Term Plan for 1984-89. In particular, the West took exception to the Major Programme III, Communication in the Service of Man, which was aimed at the elimination of inequalities by encouraging a free and balanced flow of information and by improving communication capacity of less developed countries. It also stressed that the freedom enjoyed by journalists necessitated responsible reporting with due respect to the rights and cultural identity of others. Though the Programme was adopted following a compromise, the US objections remained. It expressed its intention to withdraw from UNESCO "politicisation of its programmes" in several areas including international communication and NWICO (Finn,1986, p.140). At the end of 1983, the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, wrote to UNESCO Director-General intimating the US decision to withdraw from UNESCO at the end of 1984. Though the bulk of the opinion was against withdrawal, the US withdrew from UNESCO on Dec 31, 1984, followed by UK and Singapore in 1985[10].

The US withdrawal resulted in the virtual death of NWICO debates. Following the 23rd General Conference of UNESCO held in November 1985 in Sofia, Bulgaria, the NWICO-UNESCO nexus began to lose Its importance. However, the news and information exchange systems being established in the developing countries with IPDC assistance were indicative

[10] The withdrawal was temporary. The US re-joined UNESCO in 1997 followed by UK and Singapore in 2003 and 2007, respectively.

that NWICO had set itself on its evolutionary path. In due course of time, the dependence of the developing nations on the TNNAs for international news could reduce, and the news flow among nations could be more balanced.

In the review of news flow controversies, two episodes stand out in the history of international communication. The less contentious first episode opened with the dissatisfaction of the US over the monopoly of international news business by the cartel of European agencies and the distorted pictures they were presenting of the US to the rest of the World. The fast-expanding US economic power at home and abroad and the World Wars eventually put on end to the cartel of European news agencies and paved the for the worldwide growth of US agencies. By the end of the first episode, the US philosophy of free flow of news and information, an analogue of free trade and commerce between and among the countries, had become the guiding principle in international communication in the post-World War decades.

The curtain on the second episode unfurled in the post-World War II period when the newly independent nations began to realise the disadvantages arising from the dominance of news and information distribution system by the TNNAs of Europe and the US. Against this backdrop, the developing countries raised the demand for NWICO. The contentious and ideologically ingrained debates eventually led to tangible results: an all-around realisation of unequal growth and utility of communication technology among countries; a unidirectional flow of news and information from the media-rich Western societies to the rest of the World; the adoption of 'free and balanced flow' concept in place of free-flow'; the launching of NANAP, a cooperative new exchange arrangement by the Non-Aligned countries to enhance news flow among themselves; the MacBride Commission report; laying down of a framework by UNESCO for the evolution of the new order; the establishment of IPDC to help developing countries develop their communication resources and capabilities; and the emergence of news networks in several regions of the developing world.

Besides these welcome developments, the news flow controversies and the NWICO debates sparked research investigations in the imbalances in news flow between developed and developing regions of the World; dependence on TNNAs for foreign news; inadequate flow among developing nations; and the factors governing international news flow.

In the context of the present study, a review of news flow research is presented in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

NEWS Flow being the pivot of the study, it is essential to examine the very process of selection and presentation of news, the theoretical postulates governing news flow, and the factors responsible for such a flow. Hence, this chapter is organised under two units. The first unit outlines the news process, news values and patterns of news. The second unit – foreign news studies – presents a review of early studies followed by foreign news types, TNNAs as sources of international news, contradictory findings and explanations, and contextual studies.

2.1 THE NEWS PROCESS

NEWS, be it domestic or foreign, is developed as a marketable commodity by two groups of professionals: (i) news gatherers such as bureau chiefs, correspondents, reporters, and stringers; and (ii) news processors, editorial teams. These professionals reconstruct the reality (Tuchman, 1979) by transforming occurrences into news through the process of selection by performing the role of gatekeepers. This concept owes its origin to social psychologist, Kurt Lewin (1943, 1947)[11]. The selection takes place first at the level of the new gatherers who selectively report a few events and issues that unfold regularly. At the second level, the news processors chose certain news reports sent by the news gatherers for presentation as news and spike the rest (White, 1950; Breed,1955; McQuail, 1969).

The selection process gets influenced by several factors such as the socio-cultural background of the news gatherers and news processors, their organisation's policies and priorities vis-a-vis their audience needs and expectations, and more importantly, the news factors

[11] The concept of gatekeeping was first posited by Kurt Lewin in the context of the role of housewives in the selection of food and subsequently in the context of group dynamics in 1940s. Soon, the concept was adopted by communication scholar David Manning White (1950) in a case study of a newspaper wire service editors' selection of the day's news.

factors known as the 'news values'[12]. In simple terms, news values are the criteria that determine the newsworthiness of events, issues, countries and people.

2.2 NEWS VALUES

THE evolution of the concept of news values can be traced back to Walter Lippmann (1922) who is widely acknowledged to have provided the first narration of the attributes of events that make them newsworthy (Eilders, 1996). The concept crystalised with the work Norweigan scholars Einar Ostgaard, and Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge. Einar Ostgaard (1965) provided a detailed theoretical explanation of factors that determine the form and content of world news flow. The main thrust in his work was on factors which impair the free flow of news. His scheme of analysis included two sets of factors: (i) factors foreign to the news process, and (ii) factors inherent in the news process. The first set includes political and economic factors that operate in the news process first at the level of the news gatherers (reporters /correspondents), then at the level of international news agencies, and finally at the level of individual media units which present the final product to their audience. The factors inherent in the news process are 'simplification' of news to make it less complicated, 'identification' of familiar places, persons, and issues (dimensions of physical and cultural proximity) and 'sensationalism.'

Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified a set of 12 news values based on their study of news of crises in Congo and Cyprus in Norwegian newspapers. The 12 news values are frequency; threshold (absolute intensity): unambiguity; meaningfulness (cultural proximity, relevance); consonance (predictability, demand); unexpectedness (unpredictability, scarcity); continuity; and composition. Also, Galtung and Ruge advanced three hypotheses: additivity hypothesis, complementarity hypothesis, and exclusion hypothesis. The additivity hypothesis is that the more factors an event satisfies, the higher will be its probability of making news. The complementarity hypothesis posits that the factors will tend to exclude each other. If one factor is present, it is less necessary for the other factors to be present for the event to

[12] The term 'news factors' coined by Galtung and Ruge (1965) is used interchangeably with the term 'news values'. However, some scholars such as Kepplinger and Ehmig (2006) make a distinction between the two by pointing out that 'news factors' are "qualities of news stories", and 'news values' are journalist's judgement criteria about the qualities (p.27).

become news. The exclusion hypothesis is that the events that satisfy none or very few factors will not become news.

Galtung and Ruge's news factors and hypotheses sparked interest among scholars to examine the tenability of the hypotheses. Smith's investigation (1969), for instance, did not lend support to all hypotheses. Sande (1971) found support for the additive hypothesis, but not for the complementary hypothesis. Peterson (1979, 1981) examined the role of news factors in two studies and found support to Galtung and Ruge's hypotheses relating to factors such as 'meaningfulness' and 'negativity. Hicks and Gordon (1974) found no significant relationship between countries' prominence in the news with the (i) amount of straight news about them, (ii) the amount of negative news reported about them, and (iii) the amount of elite-oriented news.

Criticising Galtung and Ruge's news factors as ambiguous, Rosengren (1974) advocated the replacement of psychological factors by socio-economic factors such as population, GNP, export and import values are good predictors of newspaper coverage (p.154). Though lauded as "a classic social science answer to the question of what is news" (Tunstall, 1970, p. 20), and as "the foundation study of news values" (Bell, 1991, p. 155), Galtung and Ruge news values continue to be revised and updated by communication researchers. In particular, Harcup and O'Neill revisited the Galtung and Ruge's topology of news values first in 1999 and 15 years later in 2014. In their first revisit, Harcup and O'Neill (2001) analysed the content of three major British newspapers (*The Sun, Daily Mail,* and *Daily Telegraph*) for a month in 1999 and identified ten contemporary news values. In 2014, they re-examined (2017) the salience of the ten news values by analysing the front page news content of 10 UK newspapers[13]. Salience-wise, the ranking of news values was, bad news, surprise, entertainment, follow-up, power elite, relevance, magnitude, celebrity, good news, and media agenda.

2.3 NEWS FLOW PATTERNS

Two broad approaches are commonly used in analysing foreign news content. The event-oriented approach is related to the topic of news and its importance which results in its

[13] The ten newspapers were**:** *The Sun, Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mirror, Daily Express, The Times, The Guardian, The Independent, Metro* and *Evening Standard*.

selection and display in newspapers. In the country-oriented approach, the importance of news of a country's gets determined in relation to other countries (Kim & Barnett, 1996; Shoemaker, 2006). Empirical studies of Wu (1998, 2000, 2003) and Segev (2010) have confirmed that the salience of each country gets determined by its size, elite status, and factors of relatedness, including geographical, historical, economic, or cultural proximity.

Broadly, news flow between and among nations is explained from three perspectives: from the 'centre' to 'periphery' nations; from the developed countries of North to the developing countries of the South; and triangular flow involving the West, East and South. These patterns of flow stem from several factors such as uneven development of regions, historical reasons deep-rooted in the colonial past, the post-World War II changes in geopolitics, trade and commerce, and technological developments.

News flow from the 'centre' to 'periphery' nations was outlined by Galtung (1971) in the structural theory of imperialism. Conceiving imperialism as an essential factor in relations between countries, Galtung viewed the World to consist of 'centre' and 'periphery' nations.

The 'centre' nations are the dominant communities of industrialised Western Europe and North America, which in the marketplace analogy referred to as the producer-distributors of news and information at the global level. The 'periphery' are the countries of Asia (excluding Japan), Africa and Latin America. With news flow channels being in the hands of 'centre' countries, the 'periphery' nations rely on "centre-dominated feudal networks of communication" (Galtung, 1971, p. 93).

Evidence in support of Galtung's theory has been found in quite a few studies. For instance, McKenzie and Overton (1981) in their content analysis of Australian media, concluded that the patterns of international news flow to and from Australia largely remained colonial with traditional news sources prevailing. Buijtenhuijis and Baesjou (1974) studied two African dailies and reaffirmed the dominance of 'centre' news agencies in African countries (as cited in Mowlana 1986).

The second pattern of news flow is vertical, from developed countries of the North to the developing countries of the South, with a substantially higher horizontal flow within the North, and less amount of flow within the South. Such a pattern of flow has been detected in the studies of Reyes-Matta (1976), Rachty (1978) and Gunaratne (1982).

The third pattern is known as the triangular flow of news involving the West, East and the South[14]. Credence to such a trend has come from Gerbner and Marvanyi's study (1977) of newspapers drawn from the US and Western Europe (the constituents of the West), the Soviet Union (the East) and the non-aligned World representing the South. The authors conclude that while the East and the West cover their respective geopolitical areas extensively, their coverage of the South is limited, and the media of the South programme large proportions of news of about the East and the West. Central to these flow patterns is the predominance of one-way flow from the industrialised countries of the 'centre', i.e. 'North' to the developing countries, the 'periphery' nations of the South.

Besides the patterns of international news flow, researchers have examined the factors that determine coverage of foreign news in the media of diverse countries. Hester (1973) had identified four determinants of information flow: prominence in the hierarchy of nations, cultural affinity, economic relations between nations, and conflict. Robin and Sparkes (1976) had pointed to a set of four factors: technical-economic factors, political-historical factors, editorial weighting, and pressure of the marketplace

Robin and Sparkes (1976) based on the investigation of international news coverage in 39 newspapers of the US and Canada identified a different set of four factors: technical-economic factors, political-historical factors, editorial weighting, and pressure of the marketplace. However, these may not be in evidence in different media systems as in their study, the factors of trade, population and GNP had failed to predict the news coverage of foreign countries in the US newspapers. In contrast, trade was a determinant in the coverage of foreign news in the Canadian press. According to Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977), the editorial policies and the physical characteristics of international events were the determinants that govern the selection and presentation of foreign news in the news media.

According to Lent (1977), international news coverage depends on international diplomacy, national government and military policies, historical-cultural heritage, censorship policies and availability of trained correspondents. The influence of foreign policy on the

[14] The division of the world into geopolitical East, West and South has become irrelevant as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe have undergone ideological metamorphosis. In the new Millennium, countries of the East except Russia, do not differe much in their political philosophy from that of the capitalist Western nations.

selection and presentation of foreign news has also been investigated. Vilanilam (1983) in a case study of two geographically and culturally country did not figure as important as foreign policy significance to the reporting country's press system.

Kim and Barnett (1996) analysed the structure of international flow and its determinants based on 1990 data of newspapers and periodicals of 132 countries. Based on the results of multidimensional scaling, cluster and multiple regression analysis, they concluded that a country's economic development, geographic location, political freedom, population, and the language of its people determine its position in international news flow. Of these, the financial status of a nation was found to be the most critical factor. Several studies have found a strong positive relationship between bilateral trade flow and news flow (Ahern, 1984; Golan, 2008).

Wu (2000) investigated international news in the print and broadcast media of 38 countries (12 developed and 26 developing nations) representing five regions (Europe, America, Asia & Pacific, Africa and the Middle East) for two weeks of September 1995. The findings showed that different countries provided a clear world view to the audience. However, the top 10 salient countries were the US, France, the UK, Russia, Bosnia, China, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain. Among these countries, the US was dominant in the foreign newshole of almost every country, capturing about 18 per cent of world news. Except for Russia, China and Bosnia, the rest were "economic elites". Russia and China wielded military and political clout. Bosnia's salience was due to the Bosnian War, 1992- 1995. The results unambiguously pointed out that trade relationship is the most critical predictor of foreign nations visibility in the news. Pietiläinen (2006) investigation affirmed a positive correlation between trade and foreign countries visibility in international news.

More recently, Jones, Aelstz and Vliegenthart (2011) conducted a most extended longitudinal study of two US media, the *New York Times* (1950-2006) and *NBC Nightly News* (1968-2006) to examine the influence of five contextual factors or variables on foreign nation visibility in the news: (a) geographic proximity, (b) bilateral trade flow, (c) US troop deployment, (d) GDP per capita, and (e) population. They analysed their data by dividing the 56 years long study period into five sub-periods: 1950 to 1973 as the early Cold War era; 1974 to 1991 as the late Cold War era; 1992 to 2001 as the post-Cold War era, and 2002 to 2006 as the post-9/11 era (p. 422). Their analysis revealed that GDP per capita, a measure of standard

of living, was significant in three of the four periods analysed. This finding substantiated Kim and Barnett's (1996) proposition that prominence of foreign nations in the hierarchy of nations remains the most potent predictor of foreign nation visibility in the US news media. However, Jones, Aelstz and Vliegenthart's study (2011) did not support the findings of Wu (2000) and Pietiläinen (2006) that trade relations are a predictor of foreign nations visibility in the news. Also, the remaining factors were not stable determinants of the visibility of countries in the foreign news spectrum of US media. Some scholars (Segev & Blondheim, 2013) attribute the prominence of countries like the US in international news spectrum to their economic power.

Thus far, the review has focused on conceptual matters relating to the news process, news values, patterns in the flow and the determinants of news flow between and among nations. In the following section, foreign news studies are reviewed under separate heads: early foreign news studies, types of foreign news; TNNAs as prime sources of foreign news, contradictory findings and explanations, and contextual studies.

2.4 EARLY FOREIGN NEWS STUDIES

THE international news flow research evolved in the early decades of the 20th century. In the studies of that period, the focus was on coverage of certain events and issues of one country in the newspaper(s) of another country. Some such studies include a study of the news of Russian Revolution in *The New York Times* between March 1917-1920 by Lippmann and Merz (1920); examination of the status of foreign news in 40 American morning dailies (Woodward, 1930); Heindel's (1939) study of international news in the British press; and Kriesberg's (1946) study of Soviet news in *The New York Times.*

The canvas of news flow research broadened from the 1950s onwards with the conduct of comparative studies of foreign news in the media of different countries. UNESCO's research interest in the areas of news and news agencies led to two studies. The first study, which was a part of the first word-wide survey of mass media conducted between 1947 and 1951, mapped the status of news agencies in different parts of the World (UNESCO, 1953). The study noted the absence of the news agencies in most countries of the World and the dominance of six world agencies namely, Reuters of UK, AFP of France, TASS of USSR, and AP, UPA, INS of the US. These agencies being national agencies and not genuinely international,

presented news from the viewpoint of their countries. Hence, the report suggested to create an agency attached to the appropriate body of the UN or to create a "world cooperative agency" in which newspapers and broadcasters of all countries would be shareholders (p. 201). These suggestions, however, failed to evoke any interest.

The second study was the one conducted for UNESCO by Kayser (1953) wherein he analysed domestics and foreign news in 17 newspapers (including *Times of India*) of five world regions for a week, March 5 – 11, in 1951. The study revealed that in Western newspapers, the news of the Western countries was more dominant than that of the developing countries.

In 1953, the International Press Institute (IPI) undertook a more exhaustive comparative analysis of foreign news in news media of ten countries and in the leading international news agencies. Unlike previous studies, this study used a well-defined system of content categories which was adopted by several researchers in subsequent years. The results showed that international news agencies were the primary source of foreign news, and their coverage was limited to a few powerful elite nations and ignored other countries. The US newspapers devoted a small portion of their newshole to foreign news (International Press Institute, 1953, p. 219). Another IPI study conducted by Balaraman (1954) showed that India was among the worst reported countries in the American press, Summarising his findings, Balaraman pointed out that American media, in general, seemed to be interested in Indian news items which dealt with (i) odd happening, and disasters (ii) relationship to East-West struggle and Communism, (iii) American economic aid.

Schramm (1959) analysed international news reports published on Nov 2, 1956, in 14 newspapers of different countries, including *The Times of India*. In a subsequent discourse, he had noted that the flow of news among nations was unbalanced and tended to favour "a few highly developed countries", paid scant attention to the developing countries. In some cases, it tended "to distort the reality it presents" (Schramm, 1964, p. 65).

2.4.1 FOREIGN NEWS QUANTITY AND CONTENT

REVIEWED in this section are a few critical studies which have gauged the type of foreign news presented in the press of different regions and countries in the 1950s and subsequent decades.

In a comparative analysis of foreign news in seven newspapers of the US and South America over 30 days in 1959, Markham (1961) found that news flow from the US was twenty times as voluminous as the flow in the other direction. The South American papers also printed more foreign news that did the US newspapers. Similarly, the Canadian press in 1963 and the British press in 1966 were programming a large amount of international news than US newspapers (Hart, 1963, 1966). A decade later, Canadian newspapers were devoting much larger space to foreign news than their US counterparts (Robinson & Sparkes, 1976). Similarly, the Korean press (Garver, 1962), Arabic press (Abu-Lughod, 1962) and several Asian newspapers (Hohenberg, 1967) were presenting a substantial amount of international news.

The change in geopolitics in the early 1990s had no bearing on the status of foreign news in US news media. As Dalton (2001, p. 501) had noted, except the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, "most American newspapers carried fewer and fewer stories with foreign datelines." According to American historian Heale (2011), US news media have become more parochial since 1980. A similar trend had surfaced with a decline in the quantum of foreign news in Canadian newspapers (Soderlund & Lee, 1999). Such a pattern had manifested in the British press too. As per a longitudinal study conducted by Media Standard Trust, the proportion of foreign news in British newspapers had dropped to 11 per cent in 2009 from about 20 per cent in 1979 (Moore, 2010).

What is the nature of foreign news in the press of developed nations of the West? Answers to this question have come from serval studies. The findings of the IPI study (1953) that the Western media coverage of the World is 'west-centric', with a focus on war, politics and foreign relations were detected in subsequent studies. Galtung and Ruge (1965) had noted that the media of the Western industrialised countries provided scant attention to the developing countries, and whenever attention was paid, the focus tended to be on adverse developments such as political crises, national disasters, and the like.

Based on a comparative analysis of foreign news in two US dailies and two Indian dailies, cited above, Vilanilam (1972) had observed that India goes unreported in the US dailies for several months. Then suddenly the news about Indian election gets flashed along with a sidelight of a tiger 'confronting' a guardsman carrying a ballot box. An American reader of such news will get the impression that something of the wild jungle is almost a universal phenomenon throughout India.

Following an examination of news about Cuba in *The New York Times* and *The London Times* over 15 years, Pollock and Cohn (1976) had observed that the derogatory coverage of Cuba in *The London Times* coverage resembled a 'static colonial perspective', while coverage in *The New York Times* resembled the 'imperialist model' (as cited in Gunaratne 1978, p. 24). In Australian newspapers, too, the coverage of the developing countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa did not reflect their realities. Tiffen's (1976) analysis of three Melbourne dailies (*Age, Sun,* and *Herald*) in 1973 showed that bias, distortions, and misconceptions were very much in evidence in the coverage of Afro-Asian countries. Rosenblum (1979, p. 203) had noted that the US media coverage of the developing countries tended to be 'superficial'. According to Rubin (1977, p. 52), the most neglected part of the world was Africa.

An examination of Asian news in four US newspapers for a week in 1977 by Lent and Rao (1979) showed that the limited coverage of Asia and the range of topics covered were not adequate to give the readers "a broad perspective of Asia" (p.21). They also found some support to the developing countries' complaints that US media do not give enough coverage to development topics. At the same time, developing countries of one region were also selective in reporting developing countries of other areas. For instance, the coverage of Asian countries was sparse in the press system of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia (Sigler,1969). As noted by Nwuneli & Udoh (1982) and Ekeanyanwu et al. (2012) imbalances in reporting various regions and countries prevailed in the African media system. In the context of inequalities in the coverage of countries, Chang's (1998, p.1) contention that "all countries are not created equal to be news" appears to be valid.

A comprehensive picture of the salience foreign news topics has come from a content analysis of newspapers and radio and television in 10 countries including India for a composite week in 2000 conducted by Shoemaker and Cohen (2006). Their investigation revealed sports stories had the highest coverage in the media of Australia, South Africa, Israel, and the US. In the press of Chile, China, Indian and Russia, it was domestic politics that had received the highest coverage. The case of Jordan and German media was different. International politics was the most prominent topic in Jordan. In Germany, cultural events that had the highest coverage. Thus, sport, internal politics, and cultural events and International politics appear to be the most reported topics in the press of different countries.

Countries are also treated unequally in the news portals of newspapers and television channels. A quantitative analysis of as many as 223 websites of newspapers and televisions channels of 73 countries conducted by Itei Himelboim et al. (2010) found the existence of a highly hierarchical structure of news flow. In that, only a very few countries of the 'centre' and a few countries from the 'periphery' engulfed in crises situations were reported while others remained largely ignored.

2.4.2 PRIME SOURCES OF FOREIGN NEWS: TNNAS

As pointed out earlier, the international news flow has been under the domination of the four TNNAs since the 1950s. A review of the dependency of the US and the South American newspapers on the transnational news agencies in 1959 by Markham (1961) had revealed that for the South American newspapers, UPI was the lead supplier of foreign followed by AP and AFP. The US newspapers were sourcing bulk of the foreign news from AP and UPI – the US-based international news agencies.

In the 1960s, the Norwegian newspapers obtained 87 per cent of news relating to the crisis in Congo and Cuba in July 1960 and the Cyprus crisis in March 1964 (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 75). Likewise, the TNNAs were the source for half of the foreign news items in prominent newspapers of India, Kenya, Lebanon, Japan, and Norway in 1961 and 1968 (Salamore, 1975).

In the 1970s, too, the dependence on TNNAs for foreign news was high in the press system of different regions. A study of 16 Latin American newspapers in late 1975 by Reyes-Matta (1976) had shown that TNNAs were the source of 79 per cent of foreign news. Similarly, in an analysis of news coverage of the developing World in 14 Asian newspapers in 1977, Schramm (1978, p.10) had found that TNNAs were the source for more than three-quarters of all non-local Third World news. Such dependence was not confined to the media of the less developed world. Even in Canadian newspapers, the transnational news agencies accounted for over 70 per cent of US news (Sparkes, 1978). In that period, the Japanese press was also sourcing about 50 per cent of foreign news from the TNNAs (Asano, 1980, p. 90).

With TNNAs being the principal source of foreign news for media the media of the developing and developed countries, researchers have examined the content of news agencies. The International Press Institute study (1953) found that about two-thirds of

foreign news provided by AP, UPI, INS and Reuters to US subscribers, and about two-thirds to three-quarters of foreign news to India was about war, politics, foreign relations, defence and economics aspects. Also, the US and the UK received more coverage than other countries. Snider's (1968) analysis of foreign agencies news flow to an Afghan news agency in the 1960s had shown that the US, UK, and USSR got more coverage than any other country.

Hester (1971) found a preponderance of developed nations' news in the news distributed by AP in Wisconsin. Hester also found that news about developing countries tended to emphasise violence, famine, and social disintegration.

Reuters' West African wire service had found an ethnocentric bias as Britain, Western Europe and the United States occupied top-ranking positions in the wire service news-geography. And West African actors were given coverage when they acted in the context of the advanced Western World (Harris, 1976).

Boyd-Barrett' study (1980) of Reuters' South African and AP's African wires in 1974, showed a much lower percentage of African news. But, Bishop (1975) did not find adequate support to the charge that Reuters and AFP were biased in favour of the United Kingdom or France. However, he concluded that "the wire services are failing in interpreting African nations to other African nations and the outside world" (p. 662). Semmel (1976), based on a study of four US elite newspapers had concluded that their presentation of the global system is "basically Eurocentric, big-power dominant, and Western-oriented" (p.731).

In the news supplied by world agencies, news relating to crime, violence and disaster tended to have a higher share in the volume of news as compared to other subjects such as education, technology, culture, religion, health and the like. For instance, the share of crime/criminal violence on AP's Latin-American news transmitted from its Latin-American Bureaus to New York was 14 per cent of all stories (Hester, 1974). That Western news media focused their coverage on elite nations while overlooking the developing World or portraying it negatively has been found in studies of several other scholars: Budd (1964), Semmel (1976), Reyes-Matta (1976), Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977), Kaplan (1979), Adams (1986), and Gaddy and Tanjong (1986).

The dependence of media the TNNAs for international appear to have reduced in the changed scenario of the new Millennium. A recent study of online news outlets of UAE, New

Zealand, and Malaysia in 2016 had shown a decline in the dominance of the 'big three'– AP, AFP, and Reuters – in international news distribution worldwide (Rafeeq & Jiang, 2018).

2.4.3 CONTRADICTORY FINDINGS AND EXPLANATIONS

THOUGH a large body of empirical research lends support to the developing countries' charges of imbalances and biases in favour of the Western nations in the international news flow system, a few studies yielded contradictory findings. For examples, the results of a comparative study of Reuters and AFP coverage of Africa in 1973 conducted by Bishop (1975) ran counter to the common belief that Western agencies' copy is biased toward their home countries. Bishop had noted that references to the UK and France in the wire services of Reuters and AFP "do not seem excessive" considering their commercial and political ties with Africa. Thus, there was no quantitative support to the charge of "nationalistic bias" (p. 660).

In the same vein, Pinch (1978) in a paper submitted to the US State Department in 1977 attempted to show that developing countries are not passive recipients and the charges of bias and distortion made against the international news agencies are very much open to question. Another explanation was that the wire news is more balanced in foreign coverage than critics say and that the problem lies in the news selection patterns by mass media editors (Hamilton, 1977).

Another set of data to refute imbalances in bias in TNNAs emerged in a study of news content of 16 Asian dailies and the TNNAs conducted by Schramm (1978)[15] and his associates in 1977. That study showed that of the 919 stories carried by the TNNAs, 49 per cent dealt with the developing countries. In that, the developing countries of Asia had the lion's share, followed by the countries of the Middle East. The least covered regions were Africa and Latin America (p. 13). In terms of topics, 36 per cent of stories were about foreign relations and 15 per cent of the stories dealt with economic matters. While sports was the subject of 12 per cent of stories, 11 per cent concerned domestic politics and governmental issues, and a mere 6 per cent of stories reported accidents or disasters (p.15).

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[15] The first report of the study conducted at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1977 appeared under the title *International News Wires and Third World News in Asia* (1978). It was subsequently published by the Chinese University with the title *Circulation of News in the Third World: A Study of Asia* (1981).

2.5 CONTEXTUAL STUDIES

IN addition to these studies, there are four studies of immense value in the context of the present study.

The first one is the foreign news study undertaken for UNESCO by IAMCR. Thirteen research teams analysed foreign news in newspapers and broadcasting media of 29 countries for two weeks (one constructed week and one composite week) in April – June 1979 using well-designed coding and analysis instruments. The final report of the study titled as *Foreign news in the Media: International reporting in 29 Countries* (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985)[16] was presented at the 21st General Conference of UNESCO in Belgrade, Sept-Oct 1980.

The study summarised its findings by stating that a "particular pattern of attention to different types of news which seems to be present in virtually all the media systems studied, no matter what their differences in other respect" (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985, p. 52). In particular, the study had found regionalism to be universal in international news reporting, and the regions of the developing world made news when they were in some “disturbance that makes them, for a time, at least, a ‘hot-spot’ of tension and crisis” (p.52). The “consistent news-makers” were the United States and Western Europe as the nature of the news coverage of regions and countries “depended on the nature and extent of the old colonial and the newer neo-colonial economic and political ties between the centres and the peripheral nations” (p.52). Eastern Europe and Latin America were invisible regions. At the same time, “the news flows across the developing world are little more than a trickle……. for example, Latin American media carried little news on Africa, and the Middle Eastern media paid little attention to East Asia” (p. 52).

Regarding the sources of international news, the study report pointed out that “Western agencies are the second most important source of international news, coming after the home agency or newspapers own correspondents” and alternative sources such as NANAP were “never prominent”(p.53).

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[16] The report was put together by Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi along with Kaarle Nordenstreng, Robert Stevenson and Frank Ugboajah. The draft report of the study was presented to the 12th Annual Conference of IAMCR. Venezuela in Sept 1980. The final report, though presented at the 21st General Conference of UNESCO in Belgrade, Sept-Oct 1980, was published by UNESCO in 1985.

Furthermore, in the context of the present study, the UNESCO provided valuable information about the status of foreign news in Indian newspapers. It had shown that Indian newspapers were dependent on TNNAs for 39 per cent of international news as compared to 37 per cent in the newspapers of the US. The dependence of the papers of developed countries such as the Netherlands and FRG, Finland, Iceland and Greece, was higher than that of India. A much higher reliance on TNNAs for foreign was in the newspapers of the developing countries. The highest dependence (70 per cent) was in the news media of Lebanon (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985, p. 49).

The second significant study in the context of the present one was a study by Yadava (1984), Indian member of UNESCO's 'foreign news' study team. Yadava re-examined foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers in 1984 and compared it with the data of 1979 IAMCR study of foreign news to gauge changes following the NWICO debates. The study results indicated to a few 'new order trends'[17]. The trends were: a decrease in the dependency of Indian dailies on the TNNAs from 39 per cent in 1979 to 36.6 per cent in 1984; increase in the contribution of Indian agencies, UNI and PTI, from 21 per cent in 1979 to 32 per cent in 1984; and improvement in Asian news coverage by about 6 per cent in 1984 as compared to 1979 (p. 114). Yadava had described the decline in the dependence of Indian press on TNNAs for foreign news "as a happy development toward the goal of new world information and communication order" (p .120).

The third study was a longitudinal study by the present author (Ahmed, 1992) which analysed foreign news in four Indian newspapers for four years: 1971, corresponded to the pre-NWICO period; 1976 and 1981, represented the NWICO debates period; and the year 1986 represented the post-NWICO period. The analysis yielded mixed results, some were positive, and some negative indicating to imbalances in foreign news. One positive feature was: foreign news content with 'no relevance to India' outnumbered news stories 'relevant to India' in all periods of the study. Such a pattern implies that Indian newspapers follow a non-parochial approach in presenting foreign news to offer a broader view of the world.

[17] The phrase 'new order trend' was first used by American communication and information specialist Michael H. Anderson (1981) in an article 'Crisis in international news – Policies and prospects' which had appeared in a book edited by him along with Jim Richstad in 1981.

Analysis relating to news sources showed both negative and positive trends. In all periods of the study, the TNNAs collectively were the first principal sources of foreign news. Indian news agencies (PTI and UNI) and newspaper's correspondents were the second and third major providers of international news respectively. However, in 1986, the post-NWICO period, two interrelated 'new order trends' were in evidence. The first trend was a reduction in the dependence on TNNAs for foreign news by about 7 per cent in 1986. And the second trend was an increase in the contribution Indian news agencies (PTI and UNI) and newspapers' correspondents to a higher proportion of 19.7 per cent and 17.9 per cent respectively in 1986, the post-NWICO year (p. 124).

The were imbalances in the coverage of geographic regions and countries. North America and Western Europe followed by South Asia had the largest share of foreign news in all years of the study except in 1971. In that year, South Asian news topped the list as East Pakistan's struggle for independence had led to the third Indo-Pak war and the liberation of East Pakistan as the sovereign state of Bangladesh. Because of these developments, Pakistan had the highest salience in 1971. In the rest of the study periods, the US had the highest share in the foreign news of Indian newspapers followed by the UK and Pakistan (Ahmed, 1992, p 113-116). The salience of other countries such as USSR, China, Sri Lanka, Japan, France, and Spain fluctuated widely. Most developing countries figured when they were in a crisis of one or the other kind.

The fourth study was a comparative study of foreign news in Indian newspapers by Banerjee (2013). Like Yadava (1984), Banerjee analysed foreign news in three Indian dailies in 2012 and compared it with the data of 1979 IAMCR foreign news study. Banerjee's study report, though not comprehensive, had pointed out to a decline in the foreign news coverage in 2012 as compared to 1979 and an increase in the coverage of China, an emerging power in the new millennium.

The geopolitics and the relations between and among countries have undergone significant changes since the 1990s. With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the US has emerged as World's only superpower in the multipolar world, and China has set itself on the path to reach the status of a superpower. As India is an economic powerhouse in the making, its relations with other countries have changed since the 1980s. In the multipolar world, India no longer follows the path of non-alignment. Instead, it pursues the policy of issue-based

alignment and is a member of several groups such as South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); Group of 20 (G20), and BRICS, an association of emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China which came into being in 2006. South Africa joined the group in 2010.

Furthermore, India has nuclear technology-related agreements with the US, France, UK, Russia, and South Korea. There are other international organisations which have a bearing on international trade and politics[18] and makeup of foreign news in Indian media. Likewise, India's overseas labour force spread across several countries of the Middle East, America, and Europe which provides vital support to India's balance of payment (Patra & Kapur, 2003) could have some bearing on the countries making news in Indian media.

Also, significant changes have come about in the structure of Indian media system, including newspaper publication sector. Unlike in the US and other developed countries of Europe, the circulation and readership of newspapers in India continues to grow (WAN-IFRA, 2016).

In such a milieu, have any changes come about in the foreign news presented in Indian newspapers? Have the NWICO trends noticed by Yadava (1984) and Ahmed (1992) become ingrained in the international news programming practices of Indian newspapers? If so, to what extent and in which aspects of foreign news? These and related questions needed to be answered. With that intent, the present study was conceived to revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it with what it was in 1986.

The study objectives, methodology and the scope and limitations of the study are detailed in the next chapter.

[18] One such forum is the World Trade Organisation founded in 1995 which regulates international trade between countries. Another coalition is the G7, an intergovernmental political forum of the seven highly developed economies of France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the UK , US, and Canada, was formed in 1976. Russia joined the group in 1997 only to be suspended in 2014.

CHAPTER 3
OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

IN the backdrop of the studies reviewed, the present study seeks to examine foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986. A comparative study of this nature demands that the methodological procedures are identical in both periods in respect of sample, sampling method, unit of analysis, categorisation and operational definition of content, and the analysis base. The methodological protocols followed are outlined in this chapter, beginning with study objectives

3.1 STUDY OBJECTIVES

THE broad aim of revisiting foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 was to examine whether it is in any way different from what it was in 1986. More specifically, the study aimed at gauging changes in respect of six aspects of foreign news: (1) quantity and relevance, (2) generic nature, (3) coverage of world regions and countries, (4) news topics, (5) direction, and (6) sources of foreign news.

Why revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers? Reasons are many. First, India had played a significant role in the establishment of NANAP for a better flow of news among non-aligned countries and in calling for NWICO which the 21st General Conference of UNESCO, 1980, had outlined in its Resolution 4.19. Second, Indian newspapers and journalists, by-and-large, had supported the developing nations' viewpoints on the issues of imbalances and biases in international news channels and their demand for a new order in the field of global communication. For instance, just before the Conference of Ministers of Information of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in July 1976 which had approved NANAP Statutes, *The Hindu*, a leading English daily of India, had stated:

> That there is a woeful lack of authentic and un-slanted information about those (Non-Aligned) countries is undeniable. Much of the information being distributed is of 'man bites dog variety'… The giant Western news agencies dominated the information scene today, and they have been inclined to report the Third World and measure its record with the type of yardstick applied in their own advanced countries. It is, therefore, no

> wonder that they have more often than not succumbed to the temptation to belittle the developing countries as a set of Johnnies-came-lately who should know their place (*The Hindu*, 1976, p. 8).

Third, Indian newspapers rank better than most developing countries in terms of trained personnel, modern technology, and fiscal conditions. They draw foreign news from a variety of sources: Indian news agencies, PTI and UNI; TNNAs; international feature syndicates; and foreign newspapers and magazine. Also, the leading newspapers of India have foreign correspondents in different regions of the world. Moreover, the Indian press maintains a healthy growth. According to an ABC report, newspapers circulation in India grew from 39.1 million copies in 2006 to 62.8 million in 2016. The Hindi language newspapers had the highest in circulation at 22 million copies per day on an average, followed by English dailies at 8.55 million copies (*The Economic Times*, 2017). Furthermore, the Indian press enjoys full freedom, a necessary condition to examine the changes in its foreign news content.

3.2 NEWSPAPER SAMPLE

THE four leading English dailies analysed in 1986 formed the sample in 2016. The dailies were: *The Hindu* (Chennai edition), *The Indian Express* (New Delhi edition), *The Times of India* (Mumbai edition) and *The Statesman* (Kolkata edition). Each one roughly represents the four regions of India: North by *The Indian Express*; South by *The Hindu*; the East by *The Statesman*; and the West by *The Times of India*.

These dailies have a long history. *The Times of India* is the longest surviving newspaper. Its lineage goes back to the *Bombay Times*, founded in 1838 by an Irish doctor. The amalgamation of the *Bombay Times* with four Bombay newspapers in 1868 resulted in the emergence of *The Times of India* under Bennett Coleman & Co. Indian businessman R .K. Dalmia bought it in 1946. Headquartered in Mumbai, *The Times of India* is known for its national interest and journalistic excellence. With multiple editions from several cities spread across Indian, it has the largest circulation among English dailies According to the Indian Readership Survey (2017), it is the highest read English daily with a readership of a little over 13 million.

The Hindu began as a weekly in 1878 in Chennai, Tamil Nadu. It became a daily in 1989. Owned by the family of its founder G. Kasturi, it is published from several cities across 11

states. Reckoned as a symbol of Indian nationalism and is known for reliability and comprehensive news coverage, its combined readership is 5.3 million (Indian Readership Survey, 2017).

The Indian Express was launched in 1932 by Ramanath Goenka, in Chennai. Soon, it emerged as the vibrant and daring daily with the tag 'journalism of courage'. Though partisan in its political coverage, it has a reputation in the area of investigative reporting. In 1999, the Goenka family split the Express group into two companies. The northern editions came under one company headquartered in Mumbai which retained the original name *The Indian Express* and is being published from seven states: Gujrat, New Delhi; West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, and Maharashtra. The combined readership of all North Indian editions is 1.50 million readers (Indian Readership Survey, 2017). The southern editions came under the purview of the second company, the New Indian Express Publications (Madurai) Private Limited. *The New Indian Express* is published from 29 centres in six states: Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Odisha. The combined readership of all south Indian editions is 1.59 million (Indian Readership Survey, 2017).

The Statesman was founded in 1875 in Calcutta by Robert Knight, a British civil servant, who was known for his spirit of independence. The paper became popular in a short period in and around Calcutta. In 1922, it came under the corporate ownership of The Statesman Ltd. The daily is known for its quality of reporting and thoughtful editorials. Headquartered in Kolkata, its reach is restricted compared to the other three sampled dailies.

Among the samples dailies, *The Times of India*, Mumbai edition, was the bulkiest with the number of pages ranging from 34 - 56 during the study period followed by *The Indian Express,* New Delhi edition (26 – 30 pages), *The Hindu* (24 – 30 pages), and *The Statesman* (16 – 20 pages).

Only the main sections of the sampled dailies were analysed for foreign news content. Supplements such as Metro Plus and Friday Review of *The Hindu* and Bombay Times of *The Times of India* were not analysed.

3.3 TWO COMPOSITE WEEK SAMPLE

IN quantitative content analyses of newspapers, a 12-day sample is considered adequate ever since the seminal studies of Stemple (1952) and Jones and Carter (1959). In drawing a 12-day

sample, researchers use either a composite week and a continuous week, or two composite weeks, excluding Sundays. The two composite weeks sampling procedure was first outlined by Jones and Carter (1959). Subsequently, several researchers (Budd, Thorpe & Donohew, 1967; Liu & Gunaratne,1972; Gunaratne, 1982; Vilanilam, 1977; Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993) have used it as it captures the cyclic variations in news content. Hence, a composite week sampling used in analysing foreign news content in 1986 by the present author (Ahmed, 1992, 1996) was followed in analysing foreign news content in 2016.

The composite week sampling also referred to as constructed week sampling is a type of stratified random sampling which gives equal representation to each day of the week (Monday through Saturday) and each week of the month. In constructing the first composite week, one weekday beginning from Monday to Saturday was selected from the first, second, third, fourth, and first and second weeks of January to June 2016. Similarly, the second composite week was constructed from the remaining six months of 2016. The makeup of the two composite weeks of 2016 is as detailed below.

First composite week: Jan 4, Monday of the first week of Jan; Feb 9, Tuesday of the second week of Feb; March 16, Wednesday of the third week of March; April 28, Thursday of the fourth week of April; May 6, Friday of the first week of May; June 11, Saturday of the second week of June 2016.

Second composite week: July 18, Monday of the third week of July; August 23, Tuesday of the fourth week of August; Sept 7, Wednesday of the first week of Sept; Oct 13, Thursday of the second week of Oct; Nov 18, Friday of the third week of Nov; Dec 31, Saturday of the fourth week of Dec 2016.

Only the main sections of the sampled issues were taken up for analysis. The supplements were excluded as these contained features on lifestyle, entertainment, education, science and technology, and the like. The unit of analysis was a news item defined as a non-advertising matter, including the headline, body text, sub-heads, and photos, graphics and caricatures.

3.4 CONTENT CATEGORIES

IN determining whether a news item is domestic or foreign, dateline of the news items and the topics dealt there in vis-a-vis domestic concerns are the criteria most often used by researchers (Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1977; Gunaratne, 1982; Ume-Nwagbo, 1982; Vilanilam,

1983; Sreberny-Mohammadi 1985, and Okigbo, 1986). The same criteria were adopted in identifying foreign news items. Thus, foreign news is defined as news origination outside and within India but dealing with issues, events, personalities of foreign countries, international relations activities and international organizations such as the UN and its bodies, Organization of African Unity (OAU), Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), Association of South East Nations (ASEAN), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the like.

3.5 GENERIC CATEGORIES

EACH foreign news item was classified under one of the six categories outlined hereunder.

(1) Straight new: News reports of happenings of each day presented with or without pictures.

(2) Editorial: Write-ups that express the opinion of editors/newspapers on a current event, issue, policies of the governing bodies, and international organisations.

(3) Articles, Columns & Features: Items which play up or deal with the select themes, issues or persons. They provide in-depth information and analyse the subject matter with comments and arguments.

(4) Letters: Items contributed by readers giving their views on the published news content.

(5) Pictures: Photos, caricatures and graphics on foreign matters and events presented as independent items.

3.6 PLACEMENT CATEGORIES

BASED on the news value vis-a-vis readers interest and editorial policy of a given newspaper, news items get differential treatment in placement on pages. The news items considered as most important are placed on the first page of newspapers. The rest get positioned on other pages. By assessing the treatment in placement, one could determine the importance meted out by publications to foreign news. Hence, each news items was classified under either of the two placement categories:

(1) Placement on the front page

(2) Placement on other pages

3.7 GEOGRAPHIC CATEGORIES

GENERALLY, the world is grouped under six human-populated continents: Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, South America, and Oceania. The continents are incomparable in terms of their physiographic canvas and demographic dimensions. For instance, Asia, the largest continent with the highest population and countries with diverse socio-cultural and political systems, cannot be compared with any other continent. Comparisons must be made among entities that are nearly equal, if not equal, in aspects that matter. Or else, one would face the inherent danger of drawing erroneous conclusions. Hence, countries were classified under the following 15 geographic regions:

(1) North America, (2) South America, (3 North Africa (4) East Africa, (5) West Africa, (6) South Africa (7) East Asia, (8) South East Asia, (9) South Asia, (10) West Asia (all countries of Middle East including Turkey, (11) Central Asia, (12) Eastern Europe (Albania, Belarus, Croatia, Czech Republic, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, USSR/Russia, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia), (13) Western Europe (all European countries not included under Eastern Europe), (14) Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and other islands in the Pacific Ocean, excluding Indonesia as it included in South East Asia), and (15) World in General. The news items which are of concern to the entire world and are primarily about international organisations were classified under 'World in General' category.

3.8 NEWS SOURCE CATEGORIES

EACH news item was classified under one of the following news sources categories:

(1) TNNAs - AP, AFP, UPI, Reuters.
(2) Other sources of the developed world – DPA and Kyodo.
(3) Indian Sources – PTI, UNI, ANI, IANS, Newspaper correspondents and columnists.
(4) Other sources – Tanjug, Bernama, TASS, Xinhua, Readers' letters, Multiple sources, and Sources not cited.

3.9 NEWS TOPIC CATEGORIES

NEWS topic refers to the subject-matter dealt with in an item. While recognizing the possibility of identifying more than one topic, it was felt adequate to identify the main topic and

accordingly, each foreign news item was assigned under one any of the 18 mutually exclusive categories.

(1) Agriculture: Irrigation, crops, harvests; farms, farmers, farm labour and food.

(2) Art and Culture: Art and cultural activities; literature; entertainment; lifestyles.

(3) Crime/terrorism: Crime, terrorists and their activities; police/military actions and investigations; court proceedings.

(4) Disaster: Natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes, droughts, accidents, and fires.

(5) Domestic politics: Politics within states; election campaigns: changes in government, appointments; political conflict and crisis: governing bodies and bureaucrats.

(6) Ecology: Environmental matters, pollution, protection of the environment, animals, forests, and other natural resources.

(7) Economics, trade, industry: Fiscal policies; trade agreements, import and export; capital investment; the cost of living, inflation, taxation; financial institutions; Industrial policies and projects; labour disputes and negotiations.

(8) Human interest: Odd happenings.

(9) Human rights: Individuals' rights; women's issues; refugees.

(10) International politics: Foreign policy matter and diplomatic activity between and among nations, and their interest in and concerns about global events, issues and organisations.

(11) Military: War preparations, military exercises, armed conflict and war; arms deal; security pacts.

(12) Peace, Aid: Peace negotiations and settlements, disarmament, peace movements; aid by countries and world organisations.

(13) Religion: religious events, issues, personalities.

(14) Science & Technology: Innovations and discoveries: science organisation and events; awards.

(15) Social services: Health and family welfare, population control, education, housing, social welfare matters.

(16) Social unrest: Social unrest over socio-economic, ethnic, race and political issues, student protests.

(17) Sports: National and international competitions and sportspersons.

(18) Other: Other than the above.

3.10 NEWS DIRECTION CATEGORIES

NEWS direction refers to the portrayal of countries in news stories. It could either be favourable or unfavourable, or neutral. Following Rimmer's (1981) definition, each foreign news item was assigned under one of the following mutually exclusive categories:

(1) Favourable: Items that reflect growth and developments; achievements in different areas by countries, organisations and individuals; social cohesion, political/economic stability, and or strength.

(2) Unfavourable: Items that portray pictures of conflict, crises, decadence, social tensions, political/economic instability, corruption, scandals and weakness; stories dealing with war, crime and terrorism, natural calamities, and the dark side of personalities.

(3) Neutral: Stories that reflect neither favourable nor unfavourable conditions either through the balance of content or lack of controversial material.

3.11 BASE OF ANALYSIS

IN content analytical studies, one would always encounter the dilemma of choosing the base of analysis— item space measured in column centimetres or the frequency count of items. In either case, as Stevenson and Cole (1982) have demonstrated the results would be the same. The present researcher (Ahmed 1992) had also obtained a highly significant correlation between item space and the number of items. Hence, the frequency count of news items was taken as the base for analysis.

3.12 CODING RELIABILITY

THE reliability between the coders – the present researcher and a media professional – was assessed by determining the index of consistency advanced by Bennett et al., (1954). In 1986[19], the consistency index in respect of the generic type and placement categories was not calculated as the level of agreement between the coders was cent per cent. In respect of other categories, the index of consistency was fairly high: 0.97 for foreign news; 0.92 for

[19] For assessing the reliability, the the present researcher and a media professional had coded the data foreign news content of *The Times of India* for six days – three days each from the first and the second composite week of 1986. In 2016, the present researcher and a media professional coded the foreign news of *The Times of India* for three days (Jan 4, Spt 7 and Dec 31 of 2016). The reliability was assessed by determining the index of consistency - inter-coder agreement - advanced by Bennett et al., (1954)

geopolitical categories; 0.91 for geographical categories; 0.96 for news sources categories; 0.88 for topic categories; 0.86 for orientation categories and 0.74 - for news direction categories.

In 2016 too, the index of consistency was cent per cent in respect of generic type and placement categories. In respect of other categories, the consistency index was high: 0.94 for foreign news; 0.89 for geographical categories; 0.95 for news sources categories; 0.87 for topic categories; and 0.79 for news direction categories.

The data was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

3.13 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

THE study importance lies in its effort to understand whether there have been any significant changes in the foreign news content in the Indian press consequent to the emergence of the consciousness for better balanced and unbiased flow and programming of international news in the news media of the world. The awareness was in evidence during the decade long NWICO debates beginning from the mid-1970s. The imbalances and flaws needed to be overcome. With that objective, the developing nations took the corrective measures of setting up agencies at the national level activating regional and interregional news exchange mechanisms. In India, the government and the Media subscribed to the developing world's complaints and in the launch of interregional news exchange mechanism such as NANAP. Such efforts should result in less dependence on TNNAs and better coverage of the world in general and more particularly of the developing world in Indian newspapers. The manifestation of such changes referred to as 'new order trends' were visible in the 1980s. Were these trends ephemeral, or have they become a symbiotic part of the foreign news programming practices of Indian newspapers? If so, in which aspects of foreign news and to what extent? The study aims to provide an answer to these and related questions by examining the makeup of foreign news in 2016. In that lies the importance of the study. The results of the study would be of value in theoretical and policy matters governing news distribution systems at national, regional, and international level.

The findings of the study cannot be generalized for the press system of the developing world as a whole. However, the results may hold good for press systems that similar to the Indian press system in matters of growth, infrastructure facilities and governmental control.

Also, as the study is confined to the English press of India, the findings cannot be gneralised to the language press of India.

Notwithstanding this limitation, the study would be of value in drawing general outlines of the status of foreign news in developing countries consequent to the NWICO debates.

Presented in the subsequent chapter are the details of the analysis and finding.

CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

THE selection and display of foreign news get governed by the editorial policies of the newspapers vis-a-vis the nature and significance of the unfolding events and issues in the context of national interest, the needs of the readers, and availability of space on pages. The most critical foreign news stories get presented on the front page, and the rest gets placed on other pages. News stories about business, economy and sport are placed on subject-specific pages tagged as 'Business', 'Economy' and 'Sport'. News stories about other subjects which do not merit placement on the front page are placed on the page(s) set apart for foreign news. While *The Statesman* had set apart two pages tagged as 'World'*, The Times of India* had one page labelled 'Times Global'. In *The Indian Express*, the foreign news page is tagged as 'The World', and 'World' in *The Hindu.* Each of these pages presented one lead story, followed by 6-10 other stories. A few one-paragraph stories were being pooled into boxes labelled as 'Around the World' and 'World Digest' in *The Times of India*, 'Top of the World' in *The Indian Express,* 'Thumbnails' in *The Statesman*, and 'Globe Scan' in *The Hindu*. *The Times of India* had another distinct feature, a page labelled 'Times Trends' presented foreign news stories relating to science and technology, health, culture and odd happenings. This page too had 3-4 stories pooled in the box labelled 'Short Cuts.' The edit pages and op-ed pages of the sampled dailies carried opinion pieces, features and analytical reports on critical foreign issues and subjects. The stories placed in boxes were, to an extent, instrumental in increasing the number of international news items.

4.1 FOREIGN NEWS QUANTITY: NOTABLE INCREASE

EXAMINING the changes in the foreign news quantity, and its relevance to India was the first objective of the study. The analysis showed an increase in the amount of foreign news in 2016 as compared to 1986 in the study dailies. As reported in Table 1, *The Times of India* which ranked fourth with the smallest quantity of 275 news stories in 1986 had risen to occupy the first rank in 2016 as it had programmed 651 stories in 2016, the highest volume among the study dailies. Thereby, it had the highest per cent of increase of 136.7 per cent.

The Statesman and *The Hindu* ranked second and third respectively in both the years. However, *The Hindu* had a 63.8 per cent increase, and *The Statesman* had a lower per cent increase of 62.1. Rank-wise, *The Indian Express* which stood first in 1986 with 380 foreign news stories had slipped to the fourth rank in 2016 with 387 stories. Thereby, it had the lowest increase of 1.8 per cent. Such differences in ranking of the sampled dailies in 1986 and 2016 are indicative of negative relationship though not statistically significant (r = –.800, n = 4, p= .200).

Table 1: Foreign News Quantity in 1986 and 2016

Newspapers	Number of Foreign News Items in		Per cent increase
	1986 N (%)	2016 N (%)	
The Times of India	275 (22.0)	651 (32.4)	136.7
The Statesman	317 (25.3)	514 (25.6)	62.1
The Hindu	279 (22.3)	457 (22.7)	63.8
The Indian Express	380 (30.4)	387 (19.3)	1.8
TOTAL	1251 (100.0)	2009 (100.0)	60. 6

The collective quantity of foreign news items in the sampled dailies (also referred to as foreign news spectrum, or collective foreign news net) had increased from 1251 items in 1986 to 2009 items in 2016 which works out to 60.6 per cent increase. In the cumulative quantity, *The Times of India* which had the lowest share of 22 per cent in 1986 had programmed the highest quantity accounting for the largest share of 32.4 per cent in the cumulative news net in 2016.

The Statesman and *The Hindu* had the second and the third ranks respectively in both years of the study. In the case of *The Statesman*, the increase was from 25.3 per cent in 1986 to 25.6 per cent in 2016. *The Hindu* too had a fractional increase from 22.3 per cent in 1986 to 22.7 per cent in 2016.

The case of *The Indian Express* was different. In 1986, it had the highest share of 30.4 per cent in the foreign news net of the sampled dailies. In 2016, its stock was 19.3 per cent, the lowest among the study dailies.

Notwithstanding the inter-newspaper differences, the inference is that Indian newspapers were presenting more foreign news in 2016 as compared to 1986. Thereby, in 2016, they were providing a relatively broad picture of the world.

4.2 DECREASE IN FRONT PAGE PLACEMENT

THOUGH not an objective, the placement of news items on the front and other pages was examined. Generally, news stories considered as the most important ones on each day get displayed on the front pages, and the rest get assigned to other pages. The proportion of foreign news presented on the front and other pages are reported in Table 2.

Table 2: Placement of Foreign News in 1986 and 2016

Placement on	YEAR	
	1986 N (%)	**2016** N (%)
Front pages	168 (13.4)	35 (1.7)
Other Pages	1083 (86.6)	1974 (98.3)
TOTAL	1251 (100.0)	2009 (100.0)

The proportion of first-page foreign news stories in the collective newshole of study dailies had decreased from 13.4 per cent in 1986 to a bare 1.7 per cent in 2016. As a consequence, foreign news display on other pages had increased to 98.3 per cent in 2016 from 86.6 per cent in 1986.

In 2016, most of the first page stories were about important events such as kidnap of an Indian aid worker in Kabul; war on police in the US; Presidential elections in Myanmar and the US; bilateral relations of China and Nepal, and Myanmar and India; and Rio Olympics. (See Appendix A for 2016 front-page headlines in the sampled dailies).

4.3 FOREIGN NEWS RELEVANCE: MARGINAL CHANGES

A part of the first objective was to examine changes in the quantity of in foreign news that is relevant to India's interest and concerns and the news that is not relevant to India. It is natural for any press system to pay adequate attention to reports which have some bearing on and relate to home region concerns, issues or subjects. A high quantity of foreign news relevant to the reporting country would give the impression of that press is parochial or 'narcissistic', a tendency to extensively cover foreign events involving their nation (Gould 1969, p. 69).

The analysis revealed that foreign news items not relevant to India outnumbered the items having relevance to India (see Table 3). The proportion of items pertinent to India had decreased from 22.3 per cent in 1986 to 20.1 per cent in 2016. And foreign news items which were not relevant to India had increased to 79.9 per cent in 2016 from 77.7 per cent in 1986.

Table 3: Relevance of Foreign News in 1986 and 2016

FOREIGN NEWS RELEVANCE	YEAR	
	1986 N (%)	**2016** N (%)
Relevant to India	279 (22.3)	403 (20.1)
Not Relevant to India	972 (77.7)	1606 (79.9)
TOTAL	1251 (100.0)	2009 (100.0)

The domination of international news not related to India in study newspapers unambiguously points out that the relevance of foreign news to domestic concerns does not influence foreign news reported in Indian dailies. Thus, far from being parochial, the Indian press presents a broader view of the world as had been noted in the studies of Yadava (1984). and Ahmed (1992).

4.4 GENERIC TYPES OF FOREIGN NEWS: NOTICEABLE CHANGES

EXAMINING changes in the generic nature of foreign was the second objective of the study. The generic analysis of foreign news reported in Table 4 reveals notable changes in the study periods. Expectedly, straight news, a matter of fact rendering of unfolding events, formed

the bulk of the foreign news in both periods of the study. However, its share in the collective news net of foreign news had decreased in 2016. The proportion of editorials also had dipped in 2016.

Table 4: Generic Types of Foreign News in 1986 and 2106

Generic Categories	Year	
	1986 N (%)	**2016 N (%)**
Straight News	1148 (91.8)	1607 (80.0)
Articles, features, columns	43 (3.4)	139 (6.9)
Editorials	35 (2.8)	29 (1.4)
Pictures/Graphics	20 (1.6)	209 (10.4)
Letters	5 (0.4)	25 (1.2)
TOTAL	1251 (100.0)	2009 (100.0)

At the same time, the quantity of the remaining three generic types had an increase in 2016. The highest growth was in respect of pictures/ graphics – from a mere 1.6 per cent in 1986 to 10.9 per cent in 2016. The number of articles, features and columns too had increased. The lowest growth was in respect of readers' letters.

These results point out to three notable changes in the programming of generic types of foreign news content in 2016, as compared to 1986. First, Indian newspapers in 2016 were presenting more photographs, caricatures, and graphics as independent stories to add to the visual dimension of the pages. The second notable change in 2016 relates to an increase in the number of articles, features and columns which generally provide the background information on latest events and issues. For instance, Venkat (2016) in her article in *The Hindu* had explained the relationship between greed for oil, terror funding in certain countries of the Middle East, and climate change against the backdrop of UN climate change conference in 2015. The third change relates to readers' letters whose share though marginal, had an increase in 2016.

4.5 REGIONS IN FOREIGN NEWS: LARGELY SIMILAR

THE third objective was to gauge changes in the coverage of world regions and countries in the foreign news spectrum of Indian dailies. The analysis results relating to the coverage of world regions and countries are presented in this and the subsequent section. First, a comparison of the 14 world regions in 1986 and 2016, excluding the category of 'World in General'[20]. The comparison presented in Table 5 reveals that in both the years, Western Europe, followed by

Table 5: World Regions in Foreign News in 1986 and 2016

Regions & Number of Stories in 1986			Rank	Regions & Number of Stories in 2016		
Regions	**N**	**%**		**Regions**	**N**	**%**
Western Europe	226	18.1	**1**	Western Europe	483	24.0
North America	225	18.0	**2**	North America	453	22.5
South Asia	217	17.3	**3**	South Asia	292	14.5
World in General	122	9.8	**4**	West Asia	191	9.5
Eastern Europe	115	9.2	**5**	East Asia	153	7.6
East Asia	80	6.4	**6**	Oceania	97	4.8
West Asia	75	6.0	**7**	Eastern Europe	94	4.7
South East Asia	48	3.8	**8**	South East Asia	70	3.5
Southern Africa	38	3.0	**9**	South America	59	2.9
Oceania	32	2.5	**10**	World in General	57	2.8
North Africa	31	2.5	**11**	Southern Africa	39	1.9
South America	24	1.9	**12**	West Africa	8	0.4
East Africa	11	0.9	**13**	East Africa	6	0.3
West Africa	7	0.6	**14**	North Africa	5	0.2
Central Asia	0	0	**15**	Central Asia	2	0.1
	1251	100.0	**TOTAL**		2009	100.0

(Spearman's Rho .835, N 15, Significant at .01 level)

[20] News items concerning several regions and international organisations which were grouped under 'World in General' category have not been compared.

North America had the highest number of stories which had increased further in 2016. In the collective foreign news net of the sampled dailies, Western Europe news items had risen from 18.1 per cent in 1986 to 24 per cent of stories in 2016. North American news too had increased from 18 per cent in 1986 to 22.5 per cent of stories in 2016.

South Asia, the home region of India, was the third most covered region in both periods of the study. However, South Asian coverage had decreased from 17.3 per cent in 1986 to 14.5 per cent in 2016. Together, the top-three regions of Western Europe, North America and South Asia accounted for 53.4 per cent of foreign news stories in 1986 and a higher share of 61 per cent in 2016.

There were subtle changes in the ranking and coverage of other regions. In that Eastern Europe, South East Asia, Southern Africa, North Africa had slipped to lower ranks with a reduced coverage in 2016. At the same time, a few other regions had moved up with an increase in the number of news stories. While East Asia had moved up from the sixth rank in 1986 to the fifth rank in 2016, West Asia had progressed from the seventh rank in 1986 to the sixth rank in 2016. Spearman rank correlation showed significant correlation between coverage of world regions in 1986 and 2016 ($r = .835$, $n = 15$, $p = .00$).

Thus, the results indicate that the patterns of coverage of world regions in 1986 and 2016 were similar in respect of a few and slightly different regarding other regions. The similarity is that Western Europe, North America, and South Asia in that order were the most reported regions in both years.

Along with these regions, West Asia, East Asia, Oceania and South America and had a slight increase in their coverage in 2016. The low coverage of South East Asia, Southern Africa, East Africa, West Africa and North Africa in 1986 had decreased further in 2016. The coverage of East Africa and West Africa was scanty in both periods. Such a pattern of coverage of world regions was similar to the trend noticed in several studies since the 1950s (Kayser,1953; Schramm,1978; Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985; and Ahmed, 1992).

The coverage of various regions does not lend much support to the premise of proximity and regionalism being the universal determinants of international news coverage (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985). If that were to be so, South Asia, the home region of the sampled dailies would have had the highest number of reports in Indian newspapers in the study periods, not Western Europe and North America, the distant regions of elite nations.

4.6 COUNTRIES IN FOREIGN NEWS: NO DRASTIC CHANGES

THE coverage of individual countries in Indian dailies was examined as a part of the third objective as that would provide a clear picture of the countries that are reported consistently by news media. The analysis revealed an increase in the number of countries in the cumulative news net of the sampled dailies. The increase was from 91 countries in 1986 to 109 in 2016, excluding 'World in general.' As detailed in Appendix B, of the 91 countries which had made news in 1986, 19 had not figured in 2016. And of the 109 news making countries in 2016, as many as 37 had figured only in that year. Thus, only 72 countries had their presence in both years of the study. The largest number of countries were from Western Europe (16 countries in both years), West Asia (13 countries in 1986 and 16 in 2916), and Eastern Europe (8 countries in 1986 and 17 in 2016). There was not much difference in the number of nations of North America and South America figuring in the foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers. In comparison to all regions, only a few countries of West Africa, and East Africa had made news in both periods of the study. Furthermore, the coverage of 20 countries in 1986 and 30 countries in 2016 was confined to a single news story.

Of the 72 countries which made news in both years of the study, the occasional news making countries (with less than seven stories in the two composite week sample) outnumbered the regular newsmakers which had the largest share in the foreign news spectrum of Indian dailies. This reality is evident from the fact that the top 24 news making countries together accounted for 74 per cent and 79.2 per cent of news stories in the collective foreign news net of the four dailies in 1986 and 2016, respectively.

A comparison of these 24 top-ranking countries in 1986 and 2016 presented in Table 6 provides a clear picture of most salient countries in the foreign newshole of Indian dailies. The top 10 ranking countries alone accounted for a little over 58 per cent of news stories in both years of the study. Among the 24 top-ranking countries in both periods, the US followed by UK and Pakistan had the highest coverage in the collective foreign news content of Indian dailies. Together, the three nations had a share of 32.2 in 1986 and 38.6 in 2016. Individually, the US had the highest proportion of 15.3 per cent in 1986 and 19.6 per cent in 2016. The US-made news in 2016 in the context of a wide range of subjects such as domestic politics,

science and technology, sports, international relations, trade, entertainment, and crime/terrorism.

Table 6: Top 24 Countries with Highest News Items in 1986 and 2016

%	N	Countries in 1986	Rank	Countries in 1986	N	%
15.3	192	US	**1**	US	393	19.6
9.1	114	UK	**2**	UK	213	10.6
7.8	97	Pakistan	**3**	Pakistan	166	8.3
32.2	**403**	**Total of Top 3 Countries**			**772**	**38.5**
7.5	94	Soviet Union	**4**	China	68	3.4
5.4	68	Sri Lanka	**5**	Spain	66	3.3
3.3	41	Bangladesh	**6**	Australia	65	3.2
3.0	38	China	**7**	France	64	3.2
2.6	32	South Africa	**8**	Bangladesh	55	2.7
2.2	28	Australia	**9**	Russia	45	2.2
2.2	28	Philippines	**10**	Germany	43	2.1
58.4	**732**	**Total of Top 10 Countries**			**1178**	**58.6**
2.1	27	France	**11**	Turkey	41	2.0
1.7	21	Japan	**12**	Japan	39	1.9
1.4	18	Libya	**13**	Sri Lanka	37	1.8
1.3	16	FRG	**14**	South Africa	37	1.8
1.3	16	South Kore	**15**	Iraq	37	1.8
1.2	15	Iran	**16**	New Zealand	30	1.5
1.1	14	Sweden	**17**	Brazil	28	1.4
1.0	12	Vatican	**18**	West indies	27	1.3
1.0	12	Lebanon	**19**	Myanmar	27	1.3
0.8	10	Israel	**20**	Nepal	26	1.3
0.7	9	Canada	**21**	Afghanistan	26	1.3
0.7	9	Nepal	**22**	Syria	24	1.2
0.6	8	Brazil	**23**	Canada	18	0.9
0.6	7	Argentina	**24**	Italy	18	0.9
74.0	**926**	**TOTAL**			**1593**	**79.2**

The share of UK was lower and had a marginal increase from 9.1 per cent in 1986 to 10.6 per cent in 2016. UK news topics were like that of the US, except that it had more sport-related stories. Pakistan, the third most salient nation, had a fractional increase in its share

from 7.8 per cent in 1986 to 8.3 per cent in 2016. News of Pakistan in 2016 was in the context of sport, crime/terrorism, bilateral relations, military matters, and domestic politics.

The coverage of the remaining 21 countries fluctuated changing their ranking in 2016 as compared to 1986. The fourth-ranked country in 1986 was USSR, the leader of the Socialist block and a competitor to the US in geopolitics in the Cold War era. Following its disintegration in 1991, Russia had emerged as the leader of the erstwhile socialist block. But its coverage had shrunk to a bare 2.2 per cent pushing it down to ninth rank in 2016. And China, Asia's emerging superpower, had climbed to the fourth rank from its seventh rank as its coverage had slightly increased in 2016. The 2016 news reports about China dealt with subjects such as trade, domestic politics, political stance in terror-related issues, sports, the opening of world's highest bridge, and typhoon calamity in July which took a heavy toll in East China.

Sri Lanka and Bangladesh had slipped from the fifth and sixth rank in 1986 to 13th and eighth rank respectively in 2016. Spain, with higher coverage, ranked fifth in 2016. Most stories about Spain in 2016 were in the context of its involvement and achievements in international sports events. Like Spain, Australia and France which had ninth and 11th positions in 1986 had a higher coverage in 2016 and thereby had risen to sixth and seventh ranks respectively in 2016. While erstwhile FRG had ranked 16th in 1986, unified Germany had climbed to the tenth rank in 2016,

Another country which had climbed to a higher rank in 2016 was Turkey. From just two stories in 1986, it had risen to 11th rank in 2016 with 41 news stories most which were about domestic political turmoil and the failed coup attempt by a section of its military. The 12th ranked country in both years was Japan. The remaining top 12 ranking countries fluctuated in their coverage and ranks.

In brief, the consistency in the coverage of the US and UK, as well as China, Spain France, and Australia can be attributed to the determining factors such as their elite status, prominence in geopolitics, economics and trade, and sports. The salience of Pakistan can be ascribed to another determinant of foreign news coverage: hostile relations between the countries.

4.7 FOREIGN NEWS TOPICS: NOT MANY CHANGES

EXAMINATION of changes in the foreign news topics in 2016, as compared to 1986 was the fourth objective of the study. The results presented in Table 7 reveal the differences in the coverage of the 18 topics.

Table 7: Foreign News Topics in 1986 and 2016

News Topics			Rank	News Topics		
%	N	1986		2016	N	%
20.1	252	Sport	**1**	Sport	699	34.8
19.1	239	Domestic politics	**2**	Domestic politics	254	12.6
17.5	219	Int'l Politics	**3**	Crime/ Terrorism	211	10.5
5.6	70	Economics, Trade	**4**	Int'l Politics	186	9.3
4.8	60	Military	**5**	Economics, Trade	153	7.6
4.7	59	Social Unrest	**6**	Art, Culture, Ent.	107	5.3
4.2	52	Crime/ Terrorism	**7**	S&T	97	4.8
3.5	44	Disasters	**8**	Military	80	4.0
2.9	36	S&T	**9**	Human Rights	35	1.7
2.1	2 6	Human Interest	**10**	Social Unrest	29	1.4
1.8	23	Social Service	**11**	Social Service	28	1.4
1.4	18	Religion	**12**	Disasters	27	1.3
2.1	27	Peace, aid	**13**	Human Interest	26	1.3
1.1	14	Art, Culture, Ent	**14**	Environment	17	0.8
0.9	11	Human Rights	**15**	Peace, Aid	11	0.5
0.5	6	Environment	**16**	Agriculture	4	0.2
0.2	2	Agriculture	**17**	Religion	3	0.1
7.4	93	Other	**18**	Other	42	2.1
100.0	**1251**	**TOTAL**			**2009**	**100.0**

(r= .725, n=18, Sig. = .001)

In both periods, the dominant topic was sport. More importantly, its share had escalated from 20.1 per cent in 1986 to a high of 38.4 per cent in 2016. In 2016, 40.9 per cent of foreign news content in The Times of India was about sports. The second highest sports content (34.8 per cent) was in The Statesman followed by in The Hindu (30.4 per cent), and The Indian Express (29.7 per cent). That these dailies present such large quantity of sports

content reflects their need to satiate readers' passionate interest in a variety of sports such as cricket, tennis, football, table tennis, shuttle badminton, and track events. (See Appendix C for the foreign news topics in the four newspapers in 2016). Here it must be noted that sport was the most reported topic in the media of Australia, South Africa, Israel, and the US way back in 2000 (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006).

Domestic politics was the second most dominant topic in 1986 and 2016. The focus in both the years was on internal political events and issues relating in particular to elections. In 1986, for instance, Bangladesh was in the throes of the controversial election under the military ruler Hussain Mohammad Ershad. The US was in the grip of voting for the Senate and the House of Representatives. In that year, France was engaged in elections to the eighth Legislative Assembly.

In 2016 too there were presidential elections in Myanmar, US, and the UK. Of these, the US elections received the highest coverage in study dailies with focus on the political rant of the Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump and the retorts of his rival, Hillary Clinton, and the outgoing President Barack Obama.

The quantity and the ranking of the other topics fluctuated across the two periods of the study. International politics and trade and commerce ranked third, and fourth respectively in 1986. In 2016, there was a change: terrorism and crime stories which had the seventh rank in 1986 ascended to the third rank in 2016. Terrorist activities, in particular, were rampant across several countries in 2016: terrorist's attack on Indian Airforce base in Pathankot; unmasking of British accomplices of slain Islamic State (IS) terrorist executioner 'Jihadi John'; Afghan-based Islamic State threat to invade Britain; kidnap of an Indian aid worker in Kabul by armed militants; vandalization of two temples in Malaysia; David Coleman Headley's deposition in the US about the involvement of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence in 2008 Mumbai attack by terrorists; and Killing of police officers in Dallas in July 2016. The ascendency of terrorist news to the third rank in 2016 had pushed international politics, and trade and commerce to fourth and fifth ranks, respectively.

Besides crime/terrorism, two other topics of art, culture and entertainment, and science and technology (S&T) had risen to higher ranks in 2016. The topic of art, culture and entertainment had soared from 14th rank in 1986 to the sixth rank in 2016. Among the

sample dailies, *The Hindu* had programmed the highest number of entertainment, and art and culture stories, followed by *The Times of India*, *The Indian Express and The Statesman.* Most stories under this topic category were about Hollywood film actors, singers, and the latest films.

Similarly, science and technology (S&T) had a higher coverage in 2016, and the stories dealt with matters such as new medicines, technologies, discoveries, and research findings. Among the sampled dailies, *The Times of India* had the highest number of S&T stories as it devotes one page tagged as 'Times trends' for S&T news coverage. In the remaining dailies, the S&T coverage was meagre (See Appendix C for the foreign news topic in the four newspapers in 2016).

News relating to the topics of military and social unrest which ranked sixth and the seventh in 1986 had slipped down to eighth and tenth positions respectively in 2106. The remaining topics of disaster, human interest, social service, religion, peace and aid, human rights, environment, and agriculture had the least quantity in both periods of the study.

The above results point out that since 1986 international sports and domestic politics remain the most reported foreign news topics in Indian newspapers. Of these two topics, the coverage of sports had increased in 2016, perhaps to gratify readers' interest. The third highest reported topic in 2016 was terrorism which has come to threaten societies ever since Islamic militant attacked the World Trade Center in New York City on Sept 11, 2001. Notwithstanding the changes in the proportions and thereby the ranking of various topics in the two study periods, sports, domestic politics, crime/terrorism International politics, and economics and trade were the most reported topics in Indian newspapers in 1986 as well as in 2016.

4.8 FOREIGN NEWS DIRECTION: INCREASE IN NEUTRAL STORIES

THE fifth objective of the study was to examine the direction of foreign news as the classification of news stories in terms of the topics dealt therein will not clarify whether the accounts present a favourable, neutral or unfavourable picture of the reported countries. For instance, in stories dealing with domestic politics, a nation may get portrayed in any direction: favourable, if the primary focus of news content is on and about political stability, strength and positive developments; unfavourable, if the attention of the items is on instability, crisis

or conflict in the political system, and negative aspect of politicians; and neutral, if the content reflects neither favourable nor unfavourable aspects either through the balance of content or lack of controversial material. That being the possibility, each foreign news item was classified under either of the three mutually exclusive direction categories.

The direction analysis results reported in Table 8 show a decrease in the proportion of favourable stories from 14.8 per cent in 1986 to 9.9 per cent in 2016 in the collective news net of the sampled dailies. The unfavourable stories too had reduced from 26.3 per cent in

Table 8: Foreign News Direction in 1986 and 2016

FOREIGN NEWS DIRECTION	YEARS	
	1986 N (%)	**2016 N (%)**
Favourable	185 (14.8)	199 (9.9)
Unfavourable	329 (26.3)	333 (16.6)
Neutral	737 (58.9)	1477 (73.5)
TOTAL	**1251 (100.0)**	**2009 (100.0)**

(r= 1.000; n = 3; Sig= .01 , 2-tailed)

1986 to 16.6 per cent in 2016. More importantly, the proportion of neutral stories had a considerable increase: from 58.9 per cent in 1986 to 73.5 per cent in 2016. Of the 109 countries, only 60 had unfavourable news in 2016 (see Appendix D for the direction of news in respect of 109 countries).

Twenty four of the 109 countries, which accounted for 82.2 per cent of the unfavourable report in 2016 are detailed in Table 9. Individually, Pakistan topped the list with the highest proportion of 14.7 per cent of unfavourable news. The US, the superpower of the world, had the second-highest share of 12 per cent. The third highest unfavourable news share was of Bangladesh (7.5 per cent), followed by Iraq (5.1 per cent) and UK (4.8 per cent), Afghanistan (4.5 per cent), Turkey (4.2 per cent), China (3.6 per cent), Russia (3.3 per cent), and France (3 per cent). The unfavourable news share of the remaining 15 countries individually was less than 3 per cent.

The unfavourable nature of news of most Asian countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria was in the context the terrorism and domestic politics. The unfavourable stories of the developed countries such as the US, UK, France, Japan, and Australia related to politics, trade and commerce, sports, and crime.

In respect of favourable news, the US topped the list with 26 per cent. While China stood second with a share of 5.5 per cent, UK and Pakistan ranked second with a share of 5 per cent

Table 9: Top 24 Countries high on Unfavorable News in 2016

Sl. No	**Countries**	**Foreign News Direction**			
		% of Unfavourable stories N = (333)	% of Favourable stories (N=199)	% of Neutral stories (N=1477)	**Total** % (N =2009)
1	Pakistan	14.1	5.0	7.4	8.3
2	US	12.0	26.0	20.4	19.6
3	Bangladesh	7.5	1.5	1.8	2.7
4	Iraq	5.1	0.5	1.3	1.8
5	UK	4.8	5.0	12.7	10.6
6	Afghanistan	4.5	1.5	0.5	1.3
7	Turkey	4.2	0.5	1.8	2.0
8	China	3.6	5.5	3.0	3.4
9	Russia	3.3	2.0	2.0	2.2
10	France	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.2
11	Japan	2.4	3.5	1.6	1.9
12	Israel	2.4	0.0	0.4	0.7
13	Sri Lanka	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.8
14	Australia	1.5	0.5	4.0	3.2
15	Syria	1.5	3.5	0.8	1.2
16	Iran	1.5	2.0	0.5	0.8
17	Malaysia	1.5	1.0	0.3	0.5
18	Maldives	1.5	0.0	0.1	0.3
19	Spain	1.2	0.0	4.2	3.3
20	Philippines	1.2	0.5	0.6	0.7
21	Saudi Arabia	1.2	1.5	0.4	0.6
22	South Africa	0.9	2.0	2.0	1.8
23	Canada	0.9	2.5	0.7	0.9
24	Sweden	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.6
	Total	**82.2**	**69.5**	**69.6**	**73.4**

each. Japan and Syria were tied for the fourth rank with a share of 3.5 per cent. The rest of the countries had a much lower share.

In sum, there was a substantial increase in neutral news, along with a decrease in the quantity of favourable and unfavourable news stories in 2016. Though unfavourable news belonged to both developing and developed nations, it was the developing nations which made more unfavourable news in 2016. While Pakistan had the highest amount of unfavourable report, the US had the second-highest unfavourable news in the foreign news net of the study dailies in 2016. The third and the fourth-highest adverse news belonged to Bangladesh and Iraq. Other countries had a lower proportion of unfavourable stories.

4.9 FOREIGN NEWS SOURCES: INDIAN SOURCES LEAD

THE sixth objective of the study was to examine the changes in the dependence of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs, Indian news agencies, newspaper correspondents and other sources in 2016 as compared to 1986.

The analysis yielded the most encouraging results detailed in Table 10. The dependence of Indian dailies on the four TNNAs for foreign news had a considerable decrease from 44.3 per cent of foreign news in 1986 to 32.5 per cent in 2016. Individually, the contribution of AFP had increased from 10.1 per cent in 1986, 13.9 per cent in 2016. The share of Reuters, AP, and UPI had decreased in 2016. DPA of Germany and Koydo of Japan, which had a nominal share in 1986, had lost their significance in 2016.

At the same time, a couple of new sources classified as 'other' under the category of 'other sources of developed world', such as *The Independent* daily of the UK, *New York Times News Service*, *The Economist* of London, Bloomberg, Getty Images and Graphic News had provided 150 items in 2016.

The reduced dependence of the sampled dailies on the TNNAs for foreign news in 2016 was an effect of increased reliance on the Indian news source. In 1986, the Indian news sources together provided 37.2 per cent of foreign news. In 2016, their collective contribution had increased to 39.1 per cent as against the TNNAs' collective share of 32.5 per cent.

Among the Indian sources, the correspondents of Indian newspapers were the single largest provider of foreign news in both periods of the study: 17.9 per cent in 1986 and 20.8 per cent in 2016. None of the TNNAs was anywhere closer to the share of the correspondents of Indian newspapers. Furthermore, in 2016, India's leading news agency PTI had emerged

as the second-largest source of foreign news as its share of 15.2 per cent was higher than any of the TNNAs.

While UNI had not figured as a source of foreign news in 2016, two other Indian agencies, Asian News International (ANI) and Indo- Asian News Service (IANS), had emerged as the providers of foreign news content for Indian dailies.

Table 10: Foreign News Sources in 1986 and 2016

FOREIGN NEWS SOURCES	1986		2016	
	N	%	N	%
TNNAs				
Reuters	214	17.1	200	10.0
AP	195	15.6	164	8.2
AFP	126	10.1	279	13.9
UPI	19	1.5	9	0.4
TNNAs' Total	**554**	**44.3**	**652**	**32.5**
Other Sources of Developed World				
DPA	25	2.0	0	0
Koyodo	12	0.9	0	0
Other	20	1.6	150	7.4
INDIAN SOURCES				
PTI	147	11.7	306	15.2
UNI	99	8.0	0	0
PTI, UNI Total	**246**	**19.7**	**306**	**15.2**
ANI	0	0	20	1.0
IANS	0	0	20	1.0
Newspapers' Correspondents/ Columnist	**224**	**17.9**	**417**	**20.8**
Indian Sources Total	**470**	**37.6**	**763**	**39.1**
OTHER SOURCES				
NANAP	17	1.4	0	0
Tanjug	17	1.4	0	0
Bernama	3	0.2	0	0
TASS	2	0.2	0	0
Xinhua	15	1.2	5	0.2
Readers' letters	8	0.6	23	1.1
Multiple Sources	17	1.4	144	7.2
Sources Not Cited	91	7.3	272	13.5
TOTAL	**1251**	**100.0**	**2009**	**100.0**

Another result that besieges attention relates to the NANAP in whose formation India along with Yugoslavia had played an important role. In 1986, NANAP had a token salience. But in 2016, NANAP's new avatar, NAM News Network (NNN), resurrected in 2005 by Malaysia was invisible as a source of news. Similar was the fate of three other agencies, namely, Tanjug of erstwhile Yugoslavia, Bernama of Malaysia, and TASS of Russia.

In sum, the principal sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers in 2016 were the newspapers' correspondents and Indian news agencies which together provided a higher proportion of foreign news than the TNNAs. The TNNAs had lost their decades-long position of being the principal source of foreign news for Indian dailies; a welcome change indeed.

4.10 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

THE investigations carried out to determine the changes in various aspects of the foreign news in the Indian press in 2016 as compared to 1986 yielded mixed results, some are certainly noteworthy.

Examining the changes in the foreign news quantity, and its relevance to India was the first objective of the study. The analysis showed an increase in foreign news quantity in the sampled dailies in 2106 as compared to 1986. The highest growth was in *The Times of India,* which in 1986 had the lowest quantity. *The Statesman* and *The Hindu* ranking second and third respectively in both the years had a higher of quantity in 2016. *The Indian Express* which had programmed the highest number of international news stories in 1986 had only a fractional increase in 2016. Collectively, the increase was from 1251 stories to 2009 stories in 2016, a 60.6 per cent increase.

A similar reduction was in evidence in respect of the relevance of foreign news to India. The proportion of items not related to India had increased to 79.9 per cent in 2016 from 77.7 per cent in 1986. Such a practice is not new. As revealed in the previous study of Ahmed (1992), the study newspapers since 1971 have been programming large quantities of foreign news not related to India's interest and concerns. Hence, the Indian press continues to pursue the fine tradition of a non-parochial approach in programming international events and issues.

Though not an objective, the changes in respect of the placement of foreign news on front pages and other pages was examined. The analysis revealed a drastic change. A bare 1.7 per cent of foreign news items had a front-page display in 2016 as against 13.4 per cent in 1986. The rest of the items had been displayed on the inside pages.

Examining changes in the generic nature of foreign was the second objective of the study. The analysis showed changes in the programming of generic types. Straight news had remained the most dominant generic type though its share had a slight reduction in 2016 as compared to 1986. The number of editorials too had decreased. At the same time, the quantum of the remaining three generic types had increased. Of these, pictures and graphics had the highest increase, from a mere 1.6 per cent to 10.9 per cent in 2106. The number of articles, features and columns too had a surge, from 3.4 per cent in 1986 to 6.9 per cent in 2016. The lowest growth was in respect of readers' letters, from a bare 0.4 in 1986 to a slightly higher proportion of 1.2 per cent in 2016.

The third objective of the study was related to coverage of world regions and countries in the foreign news spectrum of Indian dailies in 2916 as compared to 1986. The study did not reveal any drastic changes. Among the world regions, Western Europe and North America, and South Asia, in that order, had the highest coverage in both years of the study. These three regions together had the most massive quantity which had increased from 53.4 in 1986 to 61 per cent in 2016. In that, the share of the top two regions of Western Europe and North America had increased in 2016, while the share of South Asia, the third most salient region had a slight decrease. West Asia, East Asia, Oceania, and South America also had a slight increase in their coverage in 2016. The coverage of South East Asia, Southern Africa, East Africa, West Africa and North Africa, which was the lowest among all regions in 1986 had decreased further in 2016.

From these changes, the inference is that Indian dailies continue to the provide the highest coverage to Western Europe and North America, the regions of well-developed powerful nations, and South Asia, the home region of India. Compared to these three regions, the coverage of West Asia, East Asia, Oceania, and South America was low. However, they had a slight increase in 2016, and most of the African regions had the smallest reportage.

The number of countries making news had increased from 91 in 1986 to 109 in 2016. However, only a hand full of countries had been reported consistently in both periods of the study. The US, UK, and Pakistan, the most reported countries, accounted for 32.2 per cent of foreign news in 1986 and a higher share of 38.5 per cent in 2016. In that, the US had the highest reportages, followed by the UK and Pakistan in both periods.

The salience of other countries in the collective new net of the study dailies fluctuated depending on their status in the geopolitics, trade and commerce, and domestic developments. That was the case of the Soviet Union. In 1986, it had the fourth-highest coverage. In 2016, that rank belonged to China, an emerging power in global politics. The coverage of Spain, Australia and France had increased in 2016. And countries such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, South Africa and the Philippines, just to name a few had reduced coverage in 2016. These findings point out that more than geographical proximity, the factors of nations prominence in global politics, international trade and commerce, and in other areas are the key determinants of foreign news programming in Indian newspapers.

Examination of changes in the foreign news topics in 2016, as compared to 1986 was the fourth objective of the study. In both periods of the study, the sport was the first most reported topic, and domestic politics was the second most reported topic. International politics had the third-highest coverage in 1986. But in 2016, that position had been usurped by crime and terrorism. As a result, international politics ranked fourth, and economics and trade stood fifth in terms of their volume of coverage in 2106.

Another noteworthy change in 2016 was an increase in the news about development in science and technology, a change potent in enhancing readers' awareness about S&T matters which are of greater importance now than ever before. The coverage of the remaining topics was low in both periods of the study.

Analysis in respect of the fifth objective revealed changes in the quantity of favourable, unfavourable and neutral stories in 2016 as compared to 1986. While the quantum of neutral stories had increased substantially, there was a decline in the quantity of favourable and unfavourable news stories in 2016. Though adverse news belonged to both developing and developed nations, the developing countries had more unfavourable reports than their developed counterparts.

Examining the changes in the dependence of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs, Indian news agencies and other sources in 2016 as compared to 1986 was the sixth objective of the study. The analysis yielded encouraging findings. In 1986, the TNNAs were the principal sources of foreign news for Indian dailies. But in 2016, Indian news sources comprising of newspapers' correspondents and Indian news agencies together provided a higher proportion of international news than the TNNAs. Thus, the TNNAs appear to have lost their decades-long position of being the principal source of global news for Indian dailies. Another encouraging finding is that individually, the correspondents of Indian newspapers had retained their status of being the single largest provider of international news in both periods of the study. India's leading news agency PTI had emerged as the second-largest source of foreign news in 2016.

The NANAP in whose formation India and Yugoslavia had played an important role had a token salience in1986. In 2016, NANAP's new avatar NNN was invisible.

The conclusions and suggestions are presented in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

AS conclusions and recommendations stem from the study objectives and findings, it is essential to have a recap of the study and its results as that would bring clarity about the conclusions. Hence, this chapter presents an overview of the study background and plan, followed by the finding and conclusions arrived at and a few suggestions.

5.1 RECAP OF STUDY BACKDROP AND PLAN

IMBALANCES in the international news and information flow between the developed and the developing countries were the subject of intense debates in UNESCO from the mid-1970s to early 1980s. The originators of the discussions were the developing countries. They were concerned about inequalities in international news flow; news about developing countries besides being scarce often presented a distorted picture of their reality. Held responsible for such imbalances were the transnational news agencies – AFP of France, Reuters of the UK, AP and UPI of the US – the principal supplier of international news for the media of both the developed and the developing countries.

To overcome the imbalances in global news flow, the developing nations under the aegis of their non-aligned movement, took two significant actions. First, they set up the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) in 1975 for the exchange of news among the non-aligned countries. Second, they raised the demand for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in the 19th General Conference of UNESCO held in 1976. The ensuing debates were contentious. The arguments and counter-arguments were not reflecting the totality of global communication problems. Hence, the Conference felt the need for a review of the contemporary communication problems. Accordingly, UNESCO set up a 16-member International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems under the chairmanship of Irish Nobel Laureate Sean MacBride.

The MacBride Commission studied the global communication problems for two years and submitted its report *Many Voices, One World* to UNESCO in 1980 (MacBride Commission, 1980). Based on the Commission's report, the 21st General Conference of UNESCO held in

1980 adopted a resolution, which identified 11 for redressal to realise NWICO goals. The very first area identified was about the elimination of imbalances and inequalities in international news flow in the media systems of the world (UNESCO, 1980). Furthermore, the 21st General Conference established the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) to assist developing countries in strengthening their communication infrastructure and capabilities to reduce their dependence on international news agencies. The IPDC ever since its activation in 1982 has been supporting developing countries for the development of their media and news agency systems at national and regional levels. As a long period was required to realise NWICO goals, the 22nd General Conference of UNESCO held in 1983 rightly noted that NWICO goals are attainable over time through an "evolving and continuous process" (UNESCO, 1984, p 28).

Has the evolutionary process resulted in a better balance in international news presented in the news media of different countries, especially in India? This broad question needed to be answered as India had played a lead role in the setting up of NANAP and in raising the demand for NWICO in UNESCO. Against this backdrop, this study was conceived to revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986.

The 1986 data was drawn from the present author's study (Ahmed, 1992) of foreign news in four leading English dailies of India at four time periods – 1971, 1976, 1981, and 1986. For the reliability of comparison, the methodological procedures used in 1986 were followed in 2016 in all aspects: sample, sampling procedure, operational definitions of foreign news and its categories, coding, and analysis base. As in 1986, foreign news content of four leading English dailies of India, namely, *The Hindu* (Chennai edition), *Indian Express* (New Delhi edition), *The Times of India* (Mumbai edition), and *The Statesman* (Kolkata edition), was analysed for two composite weeks in 2016. The first composite week consisting of six days, Monday to Saturday was constructed from the first six months of 2016. Similarly, from the remaining six months of 2016, the second composite was formed. The analysis focused on six aspects of foreign news: quantity, relevance, and generic nature; coverage of various regions and countries; topics of coverage; the direction of news coverage which could either present a favourable, neutral, or unfavourable picture of the reported countries; and sources of foreign news. Frequency count was the base of analysis.

For testing the reliability of coding, the author of this report and a media professional independently coded the foreign news content of *The Times of India* for three days (Jan 4, July 18, and Dec 31 of 2016). The reliability was assessed through the index of consistency advanced by Bennett et al., (1954). The consistency index was very high in respect of all content categories. Thereupon, the author of this report coded the foreign news content of each of the four dailies for two composite weeks of 2016. The coded data were analysed in to detect changes in the six aspects of foreign news content, the study objectives.

Presented in the following section are the principal findings and conclusion in respect of the six aspects, the specific objectives of the study.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

1. FOREIGN NEWS QUANTITY AND RELEVANCE. The quantity of foreign news had increased though not evenly in the study dailies. In the collective news net, the increase in foreign news quantity was from 1251 stories in the year 1986 to 2009 in 2016, a 60.6 per cent increase. Such a high increase is, in contrast, to decline in the quantity of foreign news since the 1990s especially in the media of the developed countries like Canada (Soderlund & Lee, 1999), US (Dalton 2001), a few countries of Eastern Europe (Schulz 2001), as well as UK (Moore 2010). There was yet another notable change: an increase in foreign news having no relevance to India's concerns and interests in 2016 along with a decrease in the international news relevant to India's interests. **Hence, the first conclusion is that the Indian press programmes large quantum of foreign news which provides a broader picture of the world. Furthermore, it continues its decades-long tradition of presenting a non-parochial view of the world.**

2. GENERIC NATURE OF FOREIGN NEWS. In 2016, there were changes in the generic nature of foreign news too. Straight news items formed the bulk of international news content though with a slight reduction compared to 1986. Editorials also had a dip in 2016. The remaining three generic types had a higher proportion in 2016. Among these generic types, the most significant increase was in the presentation of photos, caricatures, and graphics, which while providing images of the events and the persons involved in them, enhance the visual dimension of the pages. Likewise, there was an increase in the number of articles and features which have the potential to provide the readers with in-depth information on international events. Publishing a slightly higher number of readers' letters is yet another

change in 2016, a change which had enabled more readers to air their views on international matters.

Based on these changes is the second conclusion that the generic nature of foreign has undergone considerable changes in Indian newspapers since the past three decades. The presentation of vast quantities of straight news along with a higher number of pictures, and article and features, in particular, is a change potentially rich in providing a comprehensive understanding of the world realities, a broad aim of NWICO.

3. COVERAGE OF REGIONS AND COUNTRIES. Imbalances in the coverage of the various geographic areas and nations were as prevalent in 2016 as in 1986. Among the geographic regions, Western Europe, followed by North America and South Asia, had the highest number of stories in the foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers. Together, these three regions accounted for over 50 per cent of international news in 1986 and more than 60 per cent in 2016. Along with these regions, West Asia, East Asia, Oceania, and South America and had a slight increase in their coverage in 2016. The coverage of African areas had declined further in 2016.

In respect of countries, there was a quantitive change. The strength of nations making news in 2016 had increased to 109 from 98 in 1986. But there were imbalances as only a handful of countries had high coverage in both the periods. The US, the lone superpower of the world, had the highest coverage. The UK, India's former colonial master, and Pakistan, India's hostile neighbour had the second and third highest coverage respectively. The Soviet Union had the fourth-highest coverage in 1986. But in 2016, China, the emerging power had garnered the fourth highest coverage. The coverage of a few other developed nations such as Spain, Australia and France had ascended, and the coverage of other countries including India's neighbours, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, had declined. The coverage of most countries of Africa and South America had remained sporadic.

From these findings emerges the third conclusion is that the universal phenomenon of imbalances in the coverage of various regions and countries continues to prevail in the broad canvas of foreign news in Indian newspapers. The time lag of three decades, from 1986 to 2016, has not brought about any semblance of balance as a handful of developed and developing countries are reported more regularly than other countries. Such

inequalities will remain as the selection and presentation of news about countries depends primarily on a few determining news factors such as the prominence of nations in geopolitics, their economic standing, bilateral relations, and unexpected happenings. The countries that stand high on these factors are bound to get a consistently high coverage while those that rank low will get reported sporadically. Balanced coverage of nations is a theoretical expectation and is not likely to fit into the practical realities of foreign news programming.

4. FOREIGN NEWS TOPICS. In the coverage of various news topics too, there were not many changes in 2016 as compared to 1986. Sport, the most salient news topic in 1986, had a considerable increase in 2016. As in India, sport has been the most reported topic in the press of several other countries such as Australia, South Africa, Israel, and the US (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006). The second most reported topic in both periods was the domestic politics of countries. There was a change in the third rank topic. In 1986, international politics was the third most reported topic. That prominence in 2016 belonged to terrorism which had raised its ugly head since the beginning of the new Millennium. In 2016, there were scores of terror-related events across several countries: terrorist's attack Indian Airforce base in Pathankot; unmasking of British accomplices of slain Islamic State (Afghan-based) terrorist executioner, Jihadi John; Islamic State threat to invade Britain; kidnap of an Indian aid worker in Kabul by armed militants; vandalisation of two temples in Malaysia; David Coleman Headley's deposition in the US about the involvement of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence in 2008 Mumbai attack by terrorists; and Killing of police officers in Dallas in July 2016.

The high coverage of terrorist activities in 2016 had resulted in the downslide of international politics as well as economics and trade to the fourth and fifth rank, respectively. Besides crime/terrorism, two other topics, namely, art, culture and entertainment, and science and technology (S&T), had risen to higher ranks in 2016. The remaining topics had low and fluctuating coverage in 1986 and 2016 as well.

Thus, the fourth tenable conclusion is that Indian newspapers continue to focus on a few topics which are of importance to the reported-countries as well as other countries. The high salience of sports news reflects the media policy to gratify growing public interest in sports events and personalities which are rich in infotainment value. The high coverage of domestic politics is essential as it is a critical factor in the governance of states. That

terrorism had the third-highest coverage in 2016 as the scourge of terrorism continues to haunt India and several other countries since the beginning of the new Millenium. The issues of international affairs and economics and trade received more coverage as these are of importance in the interrelated areas of geopolitics and global economy.

5. FOREIGN NEWS DIRECTION. The analysis of foreign news direction showed a substantial increase in neutral reports along with a reduction in favourable and unfavourable stories about the countries reported in Indian newspapers in 2016 as compared to 1986. The neutral reports had the highest increase from 58.9 per cent in 1986 to 73.5 per cent in 2016. In that, the US and UK had the lion's share. Though most of the unfavourable news was about the developing countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Afghanistan, the developed countries such as the US, UK, and France, too had unfavourable reports. For instance, while Pakistan had the highest amount of unfavourable reports in 2016, the second-highest adverse reports were about the US. At the same time, it was the US which topped the list with the highest number of favourable stories. China, with a much lower proportion of favourable news items than the US, stood second followed by UK and Pakistan.

The fifth conclusion drawn is that an increase in neutral stories along with a decrease in favourable and unfavourable stories in 2016 compared to 1986 unambiguously point out that Indian newspapers since 1971 follow the tradition of bias-free selection and presentation of news supplied by their news sources. Had there been a bias in news selection, there would have been neither a substantial increase in news reports that were neutral in their direction nor a decrease in unfavourable stories about the reported countries. Moreover, the adverse reports presented in the sampled dailies were about developing as well as the developed countries. For instance, the US had the second-highest unfavourable stories. Preceding the US was Pakistan. Developing countries make more unfavourable news because events such as political crisis, social unrest, and crime and terrorist activities, recur more frequently in the developing world than in the developed nations, a reality of our times. Hence, the news media cannot be blamed for reporting unfavourable developments in developing countries.

6. SOURCES OF FOREIGN NEWS. Analysis of the foreign news sources in Indian newspapers revealed the most encouraging changes in 2016 as compared to 1986. Indian news sources comprising of correspondents of Indian newspapers and Indian news agencies had emerged

as the primary sources of foreign news in 2016, and the TNNAs, the principal international news sources till 1986, stood relegated to the second position in 2016. Among Indian sources, the correspondents of Indian newspapers had retained their status of being the single largest provider of foreign news, and the leading news agency of India, PTI, had emerged as the second major source of international news in 2016. In 1986, the Indian news sources together provided 37.2 per cent of foreign news. In 2016, their collective contribution had increased to 39.1 per cent as against the TNNAs' collective share of 32.5 per cent. Among the Indian sources, the correspondents of Indian newspapers were the single largest provider of foreign news in both periods of the study: 17.9 per cent in 1986 and 20.8 per cent in 2016. None of the TNNAs was anywhere closer to the share of the correspondents of Indian newspapers.

Thus, the sixth conclusion of the study is that the TNNAs are no longer the principal providers of foreign news. That position now belongs to Indian news sources – the correspondents of Indian newspapers and PTI, India's leading news agency. This notable change to an extent enables India to view the world from its perspective and not mainly through the perspective of western news agencies. These changes, though in line with the goals of the NWICO, cannot be solely attributed to NWICO debates and the measures taken by UNESCO and Non-aligned countries to strengthen the news agency systems from the 1970s onwards. Studies conducted in the 1960s (Salamore, 1975), 1970s (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985), and in the subsequent decades of 1970s and 1980s (Yadava 1984; and Ahmed,1992) had shown a progressive decline in the dependence of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs. Hence, reduction in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs need be attributed to the expansion in the news networks of Indian newspapers and news agencies in major cities of the world.

In brief, there were notable changes in some aspects of foreign news in 2016 as compared to 1986, and in some other facets, there was status quo. The significant changes related to an increase in the quantum of foreign news, straight news and pictures, neutral reports about the reported countries, and non-parochial content, that is, content not relevant to India's concerns and interests. The most noteworthy change was in respect of the sources of foreign news. While the TNNAs had lost their decades-long status of being the

principal international news source, the correspondents of newspapers and Indian news agencies together had emerged as the lead suppliers of foreign news.

In respect to the coverage of various topics and countries, there were no drastic changes. In 1986, sports followed by domestic politics, international politics, and trade and commerce in that order had the highest coverage among all topics. But in 2016, the third most reported topic was crime and terrorism. As a result, the coverage of international politics, and trade and commerce had slipped to fourth and fifth position, respectively. Compared to these five topics, the coverage of the remaining topics had remained low. In respect of regions and countries, the coverage was as imbalanced in 2016 as it was in 1986. Among regions, North America, Western Europe and South Asia had the highest coverage in both periods. Among countries, the US, UK, and Pakistan had consistently higher coverage. The most invisible regions across time were Africa and South America.

5.3 SUGGESTIONS

THE changes that have come about in various aspects of foreign news in Indian newspapers are a product of the changes in news programming practices of the media, relations between nation, and media users' interest in global news. As such changes recur across time, it is essential to examine the status of foreign news at regular intervals in the Indian press, without confining to the leading English dailies. Such studies must include Indian language newspapers, especially Hindi newspapers which have the highest circulation and readership among all newspapers. The results of such studies will be of value in knowing whether Indian language dailies differ from English newspapers in reporting the world. If so, in which aspects.

Similarly, it would be worthwhile in examining the status of foreign news in the newspapers of India and the press of her neighbours, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and China. Such studies would tell how these countries see each other as compared to other countries.

Over the years, Indian newspapers have succeeded in reducing their dependence on global news agencies. What about the reliance of the news media of other developing countries on the TNNAs for foreign news? Answering this question is essential as this aspect had been a matter of concern to the developing countries. To reduce their dependence on global news agencies, they have been actively involved since the past four decades in

launching and strengthening national news agencies and in setting up regional news exchange systems. Against this backdrop, it will be worthwhile to investigate changes in their reliance for foreign news on their news agencies, the TNNAs and other sources.

It will be more relevant to revisit international news in the news media of the developing and developed nations. Such a study can follow the approach of the foreign news study carried out by IAMCR for UNESCO in 1979 during the NWICO debates. A study of this nature spanning across continents has to be a collaborative endeavour involving researchers, media units and journalists and professional bodies such as International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC) and International Press Institute (IPI). Undoubtedly, such an effort would help identify changes in all aspects of foreign news flow between and among countries.

By all counts, there are, and there will be imbalances in the media coverage of various geographical regions, countries, and topics - a product of a variety of intra-media and extra-media factors. Of these, the intra-media factors of the newsgathering resources, availability of space, the editorial stance of newspapers towards global events and issues, and the design of foreign news page(s) matter most. Within the constraints, news media can attempt to reduce imbalances by adopting design strategies to accommodate more stories on different topics, different regions, and countries. If Indian newspapers can increase their volume of international news coverage as borne out in this study, the press of other nations too can. These matters are part of professional practices, and hence, media professionals must attend to them.

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APPENDIX A

Front Page Foreign News Headlines in Sampled Dailies in 2016

Newspapers, Dates and Headlines
The Hindu
January 4
1. Attack on Indian consulate in Afghanistan foiled
Feb 9
2. Mumbai attackers made two early attempts: David Headley
3. Maldives Judge held for Warrant against President
4. A new era in Myanmar: (Pic of Htin Kyaw, newly elected President of Myanmar and National League for Democracy leader Suu Kyi)
June 11
5. Indian aid worker kidnapped in Kabul by armed militants
Dec 31
6. One killed in ceasefire breach by Pakistan
The Times of India
April 28
1. India offers hope as Apple sees 1st revenue dip in 13 yrs
June 11
2. Indian woman NGO worker in Kabul abducted, Taliban suspect
3. Pak made MHA babus stay on during 26/11
July 18
4. War on police in US: Week after 5 killed, 3 more shot dead
5. Pic of policemen blocking a road
6. Turkey begins `cleansing op', over 6,000 held
Aug 23
7. Rio Olympics; Pictures: Most efficient Teams
8. Rio Olympics; Pictures: Rio's Biggest Winners
9. Rio Olympics; Pictures: Who funds Rio Toppers
Nov 18
10. From Gwadar Port, China Plots foothold in Indian Ocean
Dec 31
11. China blocks UNSC ban on Jaish chief
The Statesman
Jan 4
1. Indian Mission under attack in Afghan city
Feb 9
2. Thumbnails: B'desh indictment
3. Two attempts failed before 26/11 strike: Headley confirms Hafiz Saeed, ISI role in terror attack
4. No evidence of JeM role in Pathankot attack: Pakistan
Continued

March 16

5. Myanmar Ist President (Htin Kyaw) in decades says it is Suu Kyi's win
6. Pic of Myanmar's first civilian President
7. Modi vows to work together (with New Myanmar President)
8. Afridi spoke his mind, not controversial' (says Pak coach Waqar Younis)

April 28

9. Trump and Clinton sweep primaries

Dec 31

10. China rebuff to India on Masood Azhar, Govt upset (India wanted UN to list Azhar as a global terrorist)
11. Pic of South Korean president Park (who got a respite through a constitutional court ruling on Friday)

The Indian Express

Jan 4

1. Terrorists attack Indian Consulate in Mazar-i- Sharif

March 16

2. India acts on Pak's tip-off, Kills 3 terrorist: Home official

June 11

3. Indian aid worker (Judith D) kidnapped in Kabul, ransom likely motive
4. Warmth in US doesn't mean chill in India
5. Where India, Pak play together: the 'un-world' Cup

July 18

6. Dacca arrests deputy VC for giving shelter to cafe Gunman

Sept 7

7. Unhappy China scraps Xi's visit to Nepal

APPENDIX B

World Regions and Countries in Foreign News in 1986 and 2016

REGIONS AND COUNTRIES	1986	2016
	N (%) (No. of countries)	N (%) (No. of countries)
1. NORTH AMERICA		
1. US	192 (15.3)	393 (19.6)
2. Canada	9 (0.7)	18 (0.9)
3. Mexico	6 (0.5)	7 (0.3)
4. Haiti	5 (0.4)	0
5. West Indies	5 (0.4)	27 (1.3)
6. Cuba	4 (0.3)	1 (0.0)
7. Nicaragua	3 (0.2)	0
8. El Salvador	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
9. Dominic Republic	0	3 (0.1)
10. Guatemala	0	1 (0.0)
11. Jamaica	0	2 (0.1)
North America Total	**225** **(18.0)** (8 countries)	**453** **(22.5)** (9 countries)
2. WESTERN EUROPE		
1. UK	114 (9.1)	213 (10.6)
2. France	27 (2.2)	64 (3.2)
3. FRG[1]	16 (1.3)	0
4. Germany[1]	0	43 (2.1)
5. Sweden	14 (1.1)	13 (0.6)
6. Vatican	12 (1.0)	0
7. Austria	6 (0.5)	3 (0.1) **Contd.**

8. Spain	6 (0.5)	66 (3.3)
9. Netherlands	6 (0.5)	6 (0.3)
10. Italy	4 (0.3)	18 (0.9)
11. Ireland	4 (0.3)	3 (0.1)
12. Portugal Republic	4 (0.3)	7 (0.3)
13. Denmark	3 (0.2)	5 (0.2)
14. Switzerland	2 (0.2)	16 (0.8)
15. Iceland	2 (0.2)	0
16. Greece	1 (0.1)	10 (0.5)
17. Norway	1 (0.1)	9 (0.4)
18. Belgium	0	6 (0.3)
19. Monaco	0	1 (0.0)
Western Europe Total Fo 3	**222** **(17.7)** (16 countries)	**483** **(24.0)** (16 countries)
3. SOUTH ASIA		
1. Pakistan	97 (7.8)	166 (8.3)
2. Sri Lanka	68 (5.4)	37 (1.8)
3. Bangladesh	41 (3.3)	55 (2.7)
4. Nepal	9 (0.7)	26 (1.3)
5. Maldives	1 (0.1)	6 (0.3)
6. Tibet	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
7. Bhutan	0	1 (0.0)
South Asia Total	**217** **(17.3)** (6 countries)	**292** **(14.5)** (7 countries)
4. EAST ASIA		
1. China	38 (3.0)	68 (3.4)
2. Japan	21 (1.7)	39 (1.9)

Contd.

3. South Korea	16 (1.3)	14 (0.7)
4. Hong Kong	2 (0.2)	7 (0.3)
5. Taiwan	2 (0.2)	9 (0.4)
6. North Korea	1 (0.1)	15 (0.7)
7. Mongolia	0	1 (0.0)
East Asia Total	**80** **(6.4)** (6 countries)	**153** **(7.6)** (7 countries)
5. WEST ASIA		
1. Iran	15 (1.2)	16 (0.8)
2. Lebanon	12 (1.0)	1 (0.0)
3. Israel	10 (0.8)	14 (0.7)
4. Iraq	5 (0.4)	37 (1.8)
5. Palestine	5 (0.4)	3 (0.1)
6. UAE	5 (0.4)	6 (0.3)
7. Yemen	5 (0.4)	1 (0.0)
8. Afghanistan	4 (0.3)	26 (1.3)
9. Saudi Arabia	4 (0.3)	13 (0.6)
10. Syria	4 (0.3)	24 (1.2)
11. Cyprus	3 (0.3)	0
12. Turkey	2 (0.2)	41 (2.0)
13. Kuwait	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
14. Qatar	0	3 (0.1)
15. Bahrain	0	2 (0.1)
16. Jordan	0	2 (0.1)
17. Azerbaijan	0	1 (0.0)
West Asia Total	**75** **(6.0)**	**191** **(9.5)** **Contd.**

	(13 countries**)**	(16 countries)
6. OCEANIA		
1. Australia	28 (2.2)	65 (3.2)
2. New Zealand	4 0.3)	30 (1.5)
3. Fiji	0	1 (0.0)
4. Marshall Island	0	1 (0.0)
Oceania Total	**32** **(2.6)** (2 countries)	**97** **(4.8)** (4 countries)
7. EASTERN EUROPE		
1. Russia	94 (7.5)	45 (2.2)
2. Yugoslavia[2]	7 (0.6)	0
3. Serbia [2]	0	14 (0.7)
4. Croatia [2]	0	5 (0.2)
5. Czechoslovakia/ Czech Republic	5 (0.4)	6 (0.3)
6. Hungary	5 (0.4)	2 (0.1)
7. German Democratic Republic[1]	4 (0.3)	0
8. Poland	2 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
9. Albania	1 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
10. Bulgaria	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
11. Romania	0	4 (0.2)
12. Kosovo[2]	0	2 (0.1)
13. Ukraine	0	2 (0.1)
14. Abkhazia	0	1 (0.0)
15. Armenia	0	1 (0.0)
16. Belarus	0	1 (0.0)
17. Latvia	0	1 (0.0)

Contd.

18. Macedonia	0	1 (0.0)
19. Slovakia	0	1 (0.0)
Eastern Europe Total	**119** **(9.5)** (8 countries**)**	**94** **(4.7)** (17 countries)
8. SOUTH EAST ASIA		
1. Philippines	28 (2.2)	14 (0.7)
2. Singapore	6 (0.5)	6 (0.3)
3. Indonesia	6 (0.5)	2 (0.1)
4. Malaysia	5 (0.5)	11 (0.5)
5. Thailand	2 (0.2)	6 (0.3)
6. Kampuchea/Cambodia	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
7. Myanmar	0	27 (1.3)
8. Vietnam	0	2 (0.1)
9. Brunei	0	1 (0.0)
South-East Asia Total	**48** **(3.8)** (6 countries)	**70** **(3.5)** (9 countries**)**
9. SOUTH AMERICA		
1. Brazil	8 (0.6)	28 (1.4)
2. Argentina	7 (0.6)	8 (0.4)
3. Uruguay	3 (0.2)	6 (0.3)
4. Columbia	2 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
5. Ecuador	2 (0.2)	2 (0.1)
6. Bolivia	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
7. Chile	1 (0.10	4 (0.2)
8. Venezuela	0	5 (0.2)
9. Paraguay	0	1 (0.0)
South America Total	**24** **(1.9)** (7 countries)	**59** **(2.9)** (9 countries) **Contd.**

10. SOUTHERN AFRICA		
1. South Africa	32 (2.6)	37 (1.8)
2. Angola	2 (0.2)	0
3. Mozambique	1 (0.1)	0
4. Mauritius	1 (0.1)	0
5. Namibia	1 (0.1)	0
6. Zambia	1 (0.1)	0
7. Zimbabwe	0	2 (0.1)
Southern Africa Total	**38** **(3.0)** (6 countries)	**39** **(1.9)** (2 countries)
11. WEST AFRICA		
1. Cameron	5 (0.4)	0
2. Liberia	1 (0.1)	0
3. Nigeria	1 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
4. Mali	0	3 (0.1)
5. Senegal	0	2 (0.1)
West Africa Total	**7** **(0.6)** (3 countries)	**8** **(0.4)** (3 countries)
12. EAST AFRICA		
1. Uganda	5 (0.4)	1 (0.0)
2. Kenya	3 (0.2)	1 (0.0)
3. Seychelles	2 (0.2)	0
4. Somali	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
5. South Sudan	0	2 (0.1)
6. Ethiopia	0	1 (0.0)
East Africa Total	**11** **(0.9)** (4 countries)	**6** **(0.3)** (5 countries)
13. NORTH AFRICA		
1. Libya	18 (1.4)	0 **Contd.**

2. Sudan	6 (0.5)	1 (0.0)
3. Algeria	2 (0.2)	0
4. Egypt	2 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
5. Tunisia	2 (0.2)	1 (0.0)
6. Morocco	1 (0.1)	0
North Africa Total	**31** **(1.7)** (6 countries)	**5** **(0.2)** (3 countries)
14. CENTRAL ASIA 1. Kyrgyzstan	0	1 (0.0)
2. Kazakhstan	0	1 (0.0)
Central Asia Total	**0**	**2** **(0.1)** (2 countries)
15. WORLD IN GENERAL World in general; UN bodies, regional & international organisations	**122** **(9.8)**	**57** **(2.8)**
TOTAL	**1251** **(100.0)** (91 countries)	**2009** **(100.0)** (109 countries)

1. Following the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, Germany got divided into two countries: the German Democratic Republic (GDR) known as East Germany; and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) commonly referred as West Germany. Both were independent countries in 1986, the first year of the study. While GDR was in allegiance with Eastern bloc controlled by the Soviet Union, FRG was with Western bloc led by the US. At the end of the East-West cold war, the two were reunited as Germany in October 1990. Hence, Germany figures in 2016 list of countries.

2. In 1986, Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo were not independent states, but a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia formed after the Allied victory in World War II. Conflict within the Republic erupted in the 1980s after the death of President Josip Broz Tito. Croatia ceded from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991 and thereby contributed to its dissolution. Serbia became an independent state in 2006. Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia in 2008. Hence, Kosovo figure only in 2016.

APPENDIX C

Foreign News Topics by Newspapers in 2016

Sl No	Topics	The Times of India	The Statesman	The Hindu	The Indian Express	Total N (%)
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	
1	Sports	266 (40.9)	179 (34.8)	139 (30.40	115 (29.7)	699 (34.80
2	Domestic politics	63 (9.7)	74 (14.4)	67 (14.7)	50 (12.9)	254 (12.6)
3	Crime, Terrorism	66 (10.1)	56 (10.9)	34 (7.4)	55 (14.2)	211 (10.5)
4	International Politics	43 (6.6)	51 (9.9)	47 (10.3)	45 (11.6)	186 (9.3)
5	Economics, Trade, Industry	32 (4.9)	23 (4.5)	54 (11.8)	44 (11.4)	153 (7.6)
6	Art, Culture, Entertainment	27 (4.)	16 (3.1)	44 (9.6)	20 (5.2)	107 (5.3)
7	Science & technology	62 (9.5)	9 (1.8)	15 (3.3)	11 (2.8)	97 (4.8)
8	Military	14 (2.2)	33 (6.4)	18 (3.9)	15 (3.9)	80 (4.0)
9	Human Rights	10 (1.5)	12 (2.3)	6 (1.3)	7 (1.8)	35 (1.7)
10	Social Unrest	7 (1.8)	11 (1.0)	7 (1.1)	4 (1.6)	29 (1.4)
11	Social Service	12 (1.8)	5 (1.0)	5 (1.1)	6 (1.6)	28 (1.4)
12	Disasters	6 (0.9)	14 (2.7)	3 (0.7)	4 (1.0)	27 (1.3)
13	Human Interest	18 (2.8)	3 (0.6)	4 (0.9)	1 (0.3)	26 (1.3)
14	Environment	8 (1.2)	3 (0.6)	4 (0.9)	2 (0.5)	17 (0.8)
15	Peace, Aid	0 (0.0)	8 (1.6)	2 (0.4)	1 (0.3)	11 (0.5)
16	Agriculture	1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	4 (0.2)
17	Religion	0 (0.0)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.3)	3 (0.1)
18	Other	16 (2.5)	14 (2.7)	6 (1.3)	6 (1.6)	42 (2.1)
	Total	651 (100.0)	514 (100.0)	457 (100.0)	387 (100.0)	2009 (100.0)

APPENDIX D

Foreign New Direction by Countries in 2016

Sl N0	Countries	Direction			Total
		Favourable N (%)	Unfavourable N (%)	Neutral N (%)	N (%)
1.	US	52 (26.)	40 (12.0)	301 (20.4)	393 (19.6)
2.	UK	10 (5.0)	16 (4.8)	187 (12.7)	213 (10.6)
3.	Pakistan	10 (5.0)	47 (14.1)	109 (7.4)	166 (8.3)
4.	China	11 (5.5)	12 (3.6)	45 (3.0)	68 (3.4)
5.	Spain	0 0.0	4 (1.2)	62 (4.2)	66 (3.3)
6.	Australia	1 (0.5)	5 (1.5)	59 (4.0)	65 (3.2)
7.	France	6 (3.0)	10 (3.0) 10	48 (3.2)	64 (3.2)
8.	Bangladesh	3 (1.5)	25 (7.5) 3	27 (1.8)	55 (2.7)
9.	Russia	4 (2.0)	11 (3.3) 9	30 (2.0)	45 (2.2)
10.	Germany	4 (2.0)	2 (0.6)	37 (2.5)	43 (2.1)
11.	Turkey*	1 (0.5)	14 (4.2) 7	26 (1.8)	41 (2.0)
12.	Japan	7 (3.5)	8 (2.4) 11	24 (1.6)	39 (1.9)
13.	Sri Lanka	3 (1.5)	7 (2.1) 13	27 (1.8)	37 (1.8)
14.	South Africa	4 (2.0)	3 (0.9) 21	30 (2.0)	37 (1.8)
15.	Iraq*	1 (0.5)	17 (5.1) 4	19 (1.3)	37 (1.8)
16.	New Zealand	1 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	28 (1.9)	30 (1.5)
17.	Brazil	4 (2.0)	2 (0.6)	22 (1.5)	28 (1.4)
18.	West Indies	1 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	25 (1.7)	27 (1.3)
19.	Myanmar	7 (3.5)	2 (0.6)	18 (1.2)	27 (1.3)
20.	Afghanistan	3 (1.5)	15 (4.5) 6	8 (0.5)	26 (1.3)

Contd.

21.	Nepal	4 (2.0)	2 (0.6)	20 (1.4)	26 (1.3)
22.	Syria	7 (3.5)	5 (1.5) 15	12 (0.8)	24 (1.2)
23.	Canada	5 (2.5)	3 (0.9) 22	10 (0.7)	18 (0.9)
24.	Italy	3 (1.5)	0 (0.0)	15 (1.0)	18 (0.9)
25.	Switzerland	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	15 (1.0)	16 (0.8)
26.	Iran	4 (2.0)	5 (1.5) 16	7 (0.5)	16 (0.8)
27.	North Korea	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	13 (0.9)	15 (0.7)
28.	Israel	0 (0.0)	8 (2.4) 12	6 (0.4)	14 (0.7)
29.	Philippines	1 (0.5)	4 (1.2) 20	9 (0.6)	14 (0.7)
30.	South Korea	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	13 (0.9)	14 (0.7)
31.	Serbia	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	13 (0.9)	14 (0.7)
32.	Sweden	1 (0.5)	3 (0.9) 23	9 (0.6)	13 (0.6)
33.	Saudi Arabia	3 (1.5)	4 (1.2) 21	6 (0.4)	13 (0.6)
34.	Malaysia	2 (1.0)	5 (1.5) 17	4 (0.3)	11 (0.5)
35.	Greece	0 (0.0)	3 (0.9) 24	7 (0.5)	10 (0.5)
36.	Norway	0 (0.0)	3 (0.9)	6 (0.4)	9 (0.4)
37.	Taiwan	1 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	7 (0.5)	9 (0.4)
38.	Argentina	2 (1.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (0.4)	8 (0.4)
39.	Mexico	2 (1.0)	3 (0.9)	2 (0.1)	7 (0.3)
40.	Portuguese Republic	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	6 (0.4)	7 (0.3)
41.	Hong Kong	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	6 (0.4)	7 (0.3)
42.	Belgium	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	4 (0.3)	6 (0.3)
43.	Thailand	1 (0.5)	3 (0.9)	2 (0.1)	6 (0.3)
44.	Netherlands	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	4 (0.3)	6 (0.3)
45.	Uruguay	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (0.4)	6 (0.3)

Contd.

46.	Singapore	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	5 (0.3)	6 (0.3)
47.	UAE	2 (1.0)	1 (0.3)	3 (0.2)	6 (0.3)
48.	Maldives	0 (0.0)	5 (1.5) 18	1 (0.1)	6 (0.3)
49.	Czech Republic	2 (1.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (0.3)	6 (0.3)
50.	Venezuela	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	3 (0.2)	5 (0.2)
51.	Denmark	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (0.3)	5 (0.2)
52.	Croatia	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	4 (0.3)	5 (0.2)
53.	Chile	2 (1.0)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	4 (0.2)
54.	Romania	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	3 (0.2)	4 (0.2)
55.	Austria	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
56.	Albania	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
57.	Columbia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
58.	Dominic republic	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
59.	Egypt	2 (1.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.1)
60.	Ireland	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
61.	Mali	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
62.	Nigeria	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.1)
63.	Palestine	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
64.	Poland	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
65.	Qatar	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
66.	Bahrain	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
67.	Bolivia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
68.	Bulgaria	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
69.	Ecuador	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
70.	Hungary	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1) **Contd**

71.	Indonesia	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
72.	Jamaica	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
73.	Jordan	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
74.	Kosovo	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
75.	Senegal	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
76.	South Sudan	0 (0.0)	2 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)
77.	Ukraine	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
78.	Vietnam	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
79.	Zimbabwe	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
80.	Abkhazia	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
81.	Armenia	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
82.	Azerbaijan	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
83.	Belarus	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
84.	Bhutan	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
85.	Brunei	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
86.	Cambodia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
87.	Cuba	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
88.	El Salvador	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
89.	Ethiopia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
90.	Fiji	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
91.	Guatemala	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
92.	Kazakhstan	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
93.	Kenya	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
94.	Kuwait	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
95.	Kyrgyzstan	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0) **Contd**

96.	Latvia	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
97.	Lebanon	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
98.	Mongolia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
99.	Marshall Island	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
100.	Macedonia	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0
101.	Monaco	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
102.	Slovakia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
103.	Somali	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
104.	Sudan	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
105.	Paraguay	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
106.	Tunisia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
107.	Tibet	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
108.	Uganda	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
109.	Yemen	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
110.	World in General	4 (2.0)	3 (0.9)	44 (3.0)	57 (2.8)
	Total	199 (100.0)	333 (100.0)	1477 (100.0)	2009 (100.0)

Sources of Foreign News and Salience of Countries in Indian Newspapers in New Millenium

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Abstract

When the debates on international news flow controversies and NWICO reigned in UNESCO in the 1970s, researches had examined various facets of foreign news content in newspapers of different countries. A couple of studies had found a decrease in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the transnational new agencies (TNNAs) for foreign news in the 1980s as compared to 1970s. In those decades, the contribution of the Indian news agencies and the correspondents of Indian newspapers was lower than that of the TNNAs. The most dominant countries in the news spectrum of India dailies in the 1970s and 1980s were the US, UK and Pakistan. Since then, have changes manifested in the dependence of Indian newspapers on TNNAs and in the salience of countries? This study provides answers to these questions by comparing the foreign news content in four prominent Indian newspapers in 1986, and 2016. Briefly, in 2016, the TNNAs were no longer the principal source of foreign news and the salience of the US, UK and Pakistan had remained unaffected in the new Millenium.

Keywords: International News Flow, Foreign News Sources, News Agencies, News Factors, Composite Week.

Introduction

International news flow debates raged in international fora in the 1970s and early 1980s. The root causes of the debates were the imbalances and flaws inherent in the world news distribution system, a domain of four transnational news agencies (TNNAs) – Reuters of Britain, Associated French Presse (AFP) of France, and Associated Press (AP) and Unites Press International (UPI) of the US. In the news distributed by the TNNAs, all nations were not treated equally. As a result, in the media of both the developed and developing nations, the news of the developed nations tended to have a high salience, and the news of the developing countries tended to be sparse, and often it presented a distorted picture of their reality.

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Such imbalances and flaws in international news flow were of concern to the developing nations, most of whom had gained independence from their colonial masters in the post-World War II period. They were cognizant of the need to reduce their dependence on the TNNAs and to raise issues of imbalances in the international news flow distribution system. The nonaligned movement (NAM), a collective of the developing nations formed to remain neutral in the Cold War politics of the East and West blocks led by the USSR and the US respectively, provided the cohesive impetus to address these matters in their meetings and UNESCO conferences[1]. At the 16th session of UNESCO General Conference held in 1970, delegates from the developing countries for the first time outlined the need for a two-way flow of information between the developed and developing nations and for the development and strengthening of national agencies of the developing countries to overcome imbalances in news flow (UNESCO, 1971, p 109).

In 1973, the Heads of Governments of non-aligned countries at their Algiers summit resolved to take concert action for the interchange of information among themselves. Two years later, the action came forth in Jan 1975 with the setting up of the Nonaligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP)[2], a cooperative system of news agencies of nonaligned countries for a better flow of news among developing countries.

Outcome of NWICO Debates

Following the establishment of NANAP, the nonaligned countries raised the demand for a new international information order during the 19th session of the UNESCO General Conference held in 1976. As the new order demand evoked contentious arguments on international information flow issues, the Conference enunciated the need for a review of the totality of problems of communication in modern society. Accordingly, in 1977, the then UNESCO Director-General, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, constituted a Commission under the chairmanship of Sean MacBride to study all facets of communications problems in the present-day world.

After studying diverse facets of global communication for over two years, the Commission finalised its exhaustive report published as *Many Voices and One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order* (MacBride Commission, 1980). The Commission's report in its wide-ranging analysis of communication problems addressed the imbalances in international information flow. Much to the annoyance of the US and Western nations, the 20th session of UNESCO General Conference held in 1980 approved MacBride Report and adopted a resolution (Resolution 4.19) to bring about the new world information communication order (NWICO) through a series of measures including the

elimination of imbalances in information flow and strengthening of the communication capacities of the developing countries. With that aim, UNESCO established the International Programme for the Development (IPDC) in 1981 to assist the developing countries to fortify their communication infrastructure and services.

Between 1982 and 1986, IPDC mobilised US $9.74 million and supported developing countries for the promotion of broadcast media, media independence and pluralism, training of media professionals, and the development and modernisation of 14 national news agencies and three regional news agencies, namely Pan Africa News Agency (PANA), Asia-Pacific News Network (ANN), and Agencia Latino Americana De Servicios Especiales do Information (ALASEI).

A year before the withdrawal of US followed by UK and Singapore[3], the 22nd General Conference of UNESCO held in April 1983 had noted that NWICO goals are achievable through an "evolving and continuous process" (UNESCO, 1984, p 28). In the evolutionary process, some positive outcomes were in evidence in the flow of news as a result of the establishment of regional news agencies in the developing regions. For instance, following the setting up of ANN, the flow of news in the Asia-Pacific region had increased by about 20 per cent (UNESCO & UNDP, 1986), a new trend in international news flow. Another new trend relates to the reduction in the dependence of Indian newspapers on TNNAs for foreign news in the 1980s as compared to the previous decades.

In the context of the present study framework, a brief review of relevant international news flow studies from the 1950s onwards is essential.

Literature Review

The international news flow research evolved in the first half of the 20th century. In the news flow studies of that period, the focus was on coverage of certain events and issues of one country in the newspaper(s) of another country[4]. The canvas of news flow research broadened from the 1950s onwards with the conduct of comparative studies of foreign news in the media of different countries. The first comparative study was the one conducted for UNESCO by Kayser (1953) wherein he analysed domestics and foreign news in 17 newspapers (including *Times of India*) of five world regions for a week in 1951. The study revealed that in Western newspapers, the news of the Western countries was more dominant than that of the developing countries.

In 1953, the International Press Institute (IPI) undertook a more exhaustive comparative analysis of foreign news in newspapers of ten countries as well as in five international news agencies, namely AP, UPI and

international News Service (INS) of the US, Reuters of the UK and TASS of USSR. The results showed that international news agencies were the primary source of foreign news, and their coverage was limited to a few powerful elite nations. (International Press Institute, 1953, p. 219). Another IPI study carried out by Balaraman (1954) had shown that India was among the worst reported countries in the American press, both quantitively and qualitatively.

Schramm had analysed international news reports published on Nov 2, 1956, in 14 newspapers of different regions. In a subsequent discourse, he had noted that the flow of news among nations was unbalanced and tended to favour "a few highly developed countries", paid scant attention to the developing countries, and in some cases, it tended "to distort the reality it presents" (Schramm, 1964, p. 64).

Markham's (1961) comparative analysis of foreign news in seven newspapers of South America and the US in 1959 showed that AP, UPI and AFP were the sources for 80 per cent of foreign news both in the press of both the countries. Moreover, the South American newspapers printed more foreign news than the US newspapers. Likewise, the Arabic press (Abu-Lughod, 1962), Korean press (Graver, 1962), Canadian press (Hart, 1963: 70-74), as well as English press (Hart, 1966: 443-449) were publishing a disproportionately large amount of international news than US newspapers. A study of top newspapers of India, Kenya. Lebanon, Japan and Norway in 1961 and 1968 by Salamore (1975) had revealed that at least half of the international news items were from the TNNAs.

Between the 1970s and early 1980s when debates on international news flow controversies and NWICO reigned in UNESCO, there was a "geometric progression" in the news flow research (Mowlana, 1985, 18). Barring a few, most studies of that period had revealed a considerable dependence on the TNNAs for international news in the press of Latin America in 1975 (Reyes-Matta, 1976), Asia[5] in 1977 (Schramm et al., 1978), Canada in 1978 (Sparkes 1978), and Japan in 1979 (Asano 1984).

What was the dependence of Indian newspapers on TNNAs and which countries and regions figured consistently in Indian press Between the 1970s and 1980s? Answers to these and related questions have come from a couple of studies. The first one is the 'foreign images' study conducted by IAMCR for UNESCO in which media of 29 countries, including five newspapers of India, were analysed for two weeks in April – June quarter of 1979 (UNESCO 1985). The study results showed that the share of TNNAs in the foreign news hole of Indian newspapers was 39 per cent as compared to 37 per cent in the newspapers of the US and slightly lower share in the newspapers of Netherlands and FRG. The share of TNNAs in the foreign news hole of the

newspapers of a few developed countries such as Finland, Iceland and Greece was higher than that of India. A much higher reliance on TNNAs for foreign was in the newspapers of the developing countries such as Indonesia (51 per cent), Iran (53 per cent), Mexico (55 per cent), and the highest proportion of 70 per cent in the newspapers of Lebanon (UNESCO, 1985, p. 49).

The second study was a repetition of 'foreign images' by Yadava (1984), a member of UNESCO.s 'foreign images' study team. Yadava repeated the study in 1984 to gauge the changes in the foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers following the NWICO debates. The study results indicated to a few 'new order trends': the dependency of Indian dailies on the TNNAs had decreased from 39 per cent in 1979 to 36.6 per cent in 1984, while the contribution of Indian agencies, UNI and PTI, had increased from 21 per cent in 1979 to 32 per cent in 1984; and the Asian news coverage had improved by about 6 per cent in 1984 as compared to 1979. (Yadava, 1984, p. 114). Yadava had described the decline in the dependence of Indian press on TNNAs for foreign news "as a happy development toward the goal of new world information and communication order" (p .120).

The 'new order trends' noticed in Yadava's study were also in evidence in a longitudinal study conducted by Ahmed (1992) in which he had analysed foreign news content in four Indian newspapers for four years: The first year, 1971, corresponded to the pre-NWICO period., The subsequent two years, 1976 and 1981, represented the NWICO period. The year 1986 represented the post-NWICO period. In all periods of the study, the first principal sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers were the TNNAs. The second and third primary foreign news sources were the Indian news agencies (PTI and UNI) and the newspaper's correspondents, respectively. However, in 1986, the post-NWICO period, two new order trends were in evidence: (1) the dependence on TNNAs had decreased to a lower proportion of 44.3 per cent; and (2) the reliance on Indian news agencies (PTI and UNI), and newspapers' correspondents had increased to a higher proportion of 19.7 per cent and 17.9 per cent respectively.

In respect of the geographic regions, Ahmed's analysis had shown that north America followed by Western Europe and South Asia had the largest share of foreign news in all years of the study except in 1971, In that year, South Asian news topped the list as East Pakistan's struggle for independence had intensified resulting in the third Indo-Pak war and the liberation of East Pakistan as the sovereign state of Bangladesh. On account of these reasons, Pakistan had the highest salience in 1971. In the rest of the study periods, the US had the highest share in the foreign news of Indian newspapers followed by the UK and Pakistan. The salience of other countries such as USSR, China, Sri Lanka, Japan, France, and Spain fluctuated widely. Most developing countries figured when they were in a crisis of one or the other kind.

Study Objectives

In the backdrop of the studies reviewed, the present study[6] was conceived to revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986. Specifically, the study sought to examine changes, if any, in the (1) dependence of Indian newspapers for foreign news on the TNNAs, Indian news agencies, newspapers' correspondents and other sources in 2016 as compared to 1986; and (2) salience of different countries in the news spectrum of Indian newspapers in 2016 as compared to 1986.

Methodology

To realise the study objectives, foreign new data relating to 1986 was drawn from Ahmed's study (1992) which was based on the content analysis of four leading English dailies – *The Hindu* (Chennai edition), *The Indian Express* (New Delhi edition), *The Times of India* (Mumbai edition) and *The Statesman* (Kolkata edition). Foreign news content in these four dailies in 2016 was analysed following the methodological protocols of Ahmed's (1992) study in respect of the sampling procedure, unit of analysis, operational definition of foreign news and its categories, and the base of analysis.

Accordingly, in 2016, each of the four dailies was analysed for two composite weeks[7]. The first composite week of six days (excluding Sunday) was drawn from the first six months of 2016, and the second composite week was constituted from the remaining six months. The unit of analysis was a foreign news item defined as a news item originating outside and within India and dealing with foreign events, issues, personalities, relations between among nations, and international organisations such as UN and its bodies, NAM, International Monetary fund, and the like. The analysis covered all generic categories such as straight news items, editorials, features, opinion columns, reader's comments, as well as pictures and caricatures on international events and subjects presented as independent items. The foreign news were read more than once to place them in the categories of geographic regions, countries, and sources of news. Frequency count of the news items was the base of analysis.

Before examining the foreign news spectrum in respect of the study objectives, it must be noted that news programming practices vary from one newspaper to another based on their editorial policies vis-a-vis the needs and expectations of their readers, the prevailing socio-political climate in their home country, and the size of the newspaper. The larger the size of the newspaper, higher will be the news content. The selection and display of news on pages rests on the news values or factors which were determined first by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and subsequently reframed by several other scholars (Dupree 1971; Robinson and Sparkes 1976; Rosengren 1977; Peterson, 1979; Nnaemeka &

Richstad 1980; Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984; Ahern,1984; Wu, 2000, and Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). The news factors fall into two broad categories: Intrinsic factors and extrinsic factors. The intrinsic factors are the inherent properties of news such as importance, sensationalism, prominence, conflict, negativity, timeliness, and proximity. The extrinsic factors are the extra-media determinants such as news-making countries' economic status, geographical and cultural proximity, colonial ties, and political ideology. These factors, either independently or in combination, serve as the yardstick in the selection and display of the foreign news in news media.

Analysis and Findings

The analysis revealed that the quantity of foreign news in the sampled dailies was not similar in 1986 and 2016. In 1986, as detailed in Table 1, *The Indian Express* stood first with the highest number of foreign news items (380) and the *Times of India* ranked fourth with the smallest quantity of 275 items. In 2016, their positions had reversed: *The Times of India* topped with 651 foreign news items and *The Indian Express* ranked fourth with 387 items. *The Hindu* ranked second, and *The Statesman* was third in both the periods.

Table 1: Foreign News Quantity in Sampled Dailies in 1986 and 2016

Newspapers	Number of Foreign News Items		Per cent Increase
	1986	2016	
The Times of India	275	651	136.7
The Statesman	317	514	62.1
The Hindu	279	457	63.7
The Indian Express	380	387	1.8
Total	**1251**	**2009**	**60.6**

More importantly, there was an increase in the quantity of foreign news in the study newspapers individually and cumulatively in 2016 as compared to 1986. Individually, the highest increase was in *The Times of India* wherein the number of foreign news items had risen from 275 items in 1986 to 651 items in 2016, a staggering 136.7 per cent increase. In *The Hindu* and *The Statesman*, the per cent of the increase was relatively similar, 63.7 per cent and 62.1 per cent respectively. In *The Indian Express*, the increase in 2016 was a nominal of 1.68 per cent. The cumulative increase was 60.6 per cent as the foreign news quantity in four newspapers had increased to a high of 2009 items in 2016 as against 1251 in 1986. Such a high coverage of foreign events and issues suggests that Indian newspapers attached much higher importance to foreign matters in 2016 than in 1986**.**

Dependence on TNNAs

The first objective of the study was to examine the changes in the dependence of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs, Indian news agencies, newspapers' correspondents and other sources in 2016 as compared to 1986. The analysis yielded encouraging results. As detailed in Table 2, the collective share of TNNAs in the foreign news spectrum of the sample dailies had declined from 44.3 per cent in 1986 to 32.5 per cent in 2016. Individually, the share of FPI had increased from 10.1 per cent in 1986, 13.9 per cent in 2016. The share of Reuters, AP and UPI had decreased in 2016. Likewise, DPA of Germany and Koydo of Japan, which had a nominal share in 1986, had lost their significance in 2016. At the same time, a couple of new sources such as *The Independent* daily of the UK, *New York Times News Service*, *The Economist* of London, Bloomberg, Getty Images and Graphic News had provided 150 items in 2016.

Table 2: Foreign News Sources in 1986 and 2016

Foreign News Sources	1986		2016	
	N	%	N	%
TNNAs				
Reuters	214	17.1	200	10.0
AP	195	15.6	164	8.2
AFP	126	10.1	279	13.9
UPI	19	1.5	9	0.4
TNNAs' Total	**554**	**44.3**	**652**	**32.5**
Other Sources of Developed World				
DPA	25	2.0	0	0
Koyodo	12	0.9	0	0
Other	20	1.6	150	7.4
Indian Sources				
PTI	147	11.7	306	15.2
UNI	99	8.0	0	0
PTI, UNI Total	**246**	**19.7**	**306**	**15.2**
ANI	-	-	20	1.0
IANS	-	-	20	1.0
Newspapers' Correspondents/ Columnist	**224**	**17.9**	**417**	**20.8**
Indian Sources Total	**470**	**37.6**	**763**	**39.1**
Other Sources				
NANAP	17	1.4	-	-
Tanjug	17	1.4	-	-
Bernama	3	0.2	-	-
TASS	2	0.2	-	-
Xinhua	15	1.2	5	0.2
Readers' letters	8	0.6	23	1.1
Multiple Sources	17	1.4	144	(7.2)
Sources Not Cited	91	7.3	272	(13.5)
TOTAL	**1251**	**100.0**	**2009**	**100.0**

In 2016, Indian sources had emerged as the principal providers of foreign news as their share had increased to 39.1 per cent as against TNNAs' share of 32.5 per cent. Among the Indian sources, the correspondents of Indian newspapers had retained their status of being the single largest provider of foreign news in both periods of the study: 17.9 per cent in 1986 and 20.8 per cent in 2016. No TNNA was anywhere closer to the share of the correspondents of Indian newspapers. Similarly, in 2016, India's leading news agency PTI had emerged as the second-largest source of foreign news as its share of 15.2 per cent was higher than the share of any of the four TNNAs. Two other Indian agencies, Asian News International (ANI) and Indo-Asian News Service (IANS) had surfaced as foreign news providers for Indian dailies in 2016.

Another result that besieges attention relates to the NANAP in whose formation India and Yugoslavia had played an important role. In 1986, NANAP had a token salience. In 2016, NANAP's new avatar NNN was invisible. Similar was the fate of three agencies, namely, Tanjug of erstwhile Yugoslavia, Bernama of Malaysia, and TASS of Russia.

In sum, the principal sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers in 2016 were the newspapers' correspondents and Indian news agencies which together provided a higher proportion of foreign news than the four TNNAs. Thus, the TNNAs appear to have lost their decades-long position of being the principal source of foreign news for Indian dailies.

Dominance of a few Countries

The second objective of the study called for assessing the coverage of countries in 2016 as compared to 1986. The strength of the news making countries in the sample of newspapers had a slight increase from 94 in 1986 to 106 in 2016. From the perspective of the second objective, 15 countries which had the highest coverage in 1986 were compared with 15 top-ranking countries of 2016. As detailed in Table 3, the 15 top-ranking countries in both the years of the study accounted for about 66 per cent of foreign news.

In both the periods, the US, followed by UK and Pakistan, had the highest coverage in the foreign news content of Indian dailies. Together, these three nations had a share of 32.1 per cent in 1986 and a higher share of 38 per cent in 2016. Individually, the US had the highest share of 15. 3 per cent in 1986 and 19.4 per cent in 2016. The US-made news in 2016 in the context of a wide range of subjects such as domestic politics, developments in science and technology, sports, international relations, trade and commerce, entertainment and celebrities, and crime/terrorism.

Table 3: Top 15 News Making Countries in 1986 and 2016

1986			**2016**		
Countries	N	%	**Countries**	N	**%**
1. US	192	15.3	1. US	390	19.4
2. UK	114	9.1	2. UK	213	10.6
3. Pakistan	97	7.7	3. Pakistan	161	8.0
4. USSR	94	7.5	4. Spain*	66	3.3
5. Sri Lanka	68	5.4	5. Australia	65	3.2
6. Bangladesh	41	3.3	6. France	64	3.1
7. China	38	3.0	7. China	61	3.0
8. South Africa	32	2.6	8. Bangladesh	55	2.7
9. Australia	28	2.2	9. Russia	43	2.1
10.Philippines*	28	2.2	10.FRG	42	2.1
11.France	27	2.1	11.Turkey*	41	2.0
12.Japan	21	1.7	12.Japan	39	1.9
13.Libya*	18	1.4	13.Sri Lanka	37	1.8
14.FRG	16	1.3	14.South Africa	37	1.8
15.South Korea*	16	1.3	15.Iraq*	36	1.8
Total	830	66.1	**Total**	1350	66.8

* countries figuring only in one year

Compared to the US, the share of UK was lower and had a marginal increase from 9.4 per cent in 1986 and 10.6 per cent in 2016. In respect of subjects, UK news was similar to those of the US, except that it had more sports news.

Pakistan, the third most salient nation in both years of the study, had a fractional increase in its share from 7.7 per cent in 1986 to 8 per cent in 2016. News of Pakistan in 2016 was confined to sports, crime/terrorism, bilateral relations, military matters and domestic politics.

The fourth-ranking country in 1986 was USSR, the leader of the Socialist block and a competitor to the US in geopolitics in the Cold War era – 1945 to 1991. Following its disintegration in 1991, Russia had emerged as the news leader of the erstwhile USSR. However, its coverage had shrunk significantly pushing it down to ninth rank among the 15 top-ranking countries in 2016. Likewise, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and South Africa had reduced coverage and raking in 2016 as compared to 1986. While Russian news in 2016 primarily dealt with sports and international politics, Sri Lankan news related to sports and domestic politics. In 2016, the three major topics of Bangladesh news were crime arising out of religious activism, sports and domestic politics. Most of the South African news items dealt with sports.

Three other countries, namely France, Australia, FRG had a slightly higher coverage in 2016 The focus of the coverage was restricted to a few topics. In 2016, sports was the dominant topic in the news of Australia and FRG, whereas France made news in the context of sports and 2015 terrorist attack on Paris.

Besides, the US, UK and Pakistan, two other countries which had consistent ranking were China and Japan, though with low share. While China ranked seventh with a low share of 3 per cent in 1986 as well as in 2016, Japan ranked twelfth as its share was a mere 1.7 per cent in 1986 and 1.9 per cent in 2016.

In the list of top15 news making counties, only 12 had figured in both the years. While the Philippines, Libya and South Korea had figured in 1986, Spain, Turkey and Iraq had appeared in 2016. Spain made news in 2016, in the context of sports events. Turkey was in the news on account of its political turmoil and the failed coup attempt by a section of its military. The news of Iraq related to terror-related events and issues.

In sum, the results clearly show that there was not any drastic change in the coverage of various countries in 2016, as compared to 1986. In both the periods, the news of US, the superpower of the world dominated the foreign news content in Indian newspapers, followed by the UK, the second most powerful nation and Pakistan, India's opposing neighbour. The rest of the countries irrespective of their development status and stature in geopolitics had low coverage which accentuated when they had domestic and socio-political turbulences, crime and terrorist activities in their home regions, and when they were involved in sports events of global importance.

Conclusions

The study examined the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs for foreign news and the salience of different countries in foreign news content in 2016 as compared to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986. The study findings unambiguously point out to an interrelated change in the dependency on the TNNAs and Indian news sources. The interrelated change is that the four TNNAs are no longer the principal source of foreign news for Indian dailies. That position now belongs to the collective of Indian news sources comprising of the correspondents of Indian newspapers including their columnists and the Indian news agencies. Of these Indian news sources, the correspondents and columnists continue to maintain their position of being the single largest provider of foreign news. Their contribution to the foreign news spectrum of Indian dailies is far higher than any of the four TNNAs. These changes indeed are welcome developments in realising the goals of the new world information and communication order. However, these changes cannot be solely attributed

to NWICO debates and the measures taken by UNESCO and Nonaligned countries to strengthen the media systems and the news agencies of developing countries. The reason is that a progressive decrease in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs was in evidence in studies conducted in the 1960s by Salamore (1975), in 1907s by UNESCO (1985), and in 1970s and 1980s by Yadava, (1984), and Ahmed (1992). Hence, a progressive reduction in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs can best be attributed to their increased reliance on Indian sources for foreign news.

In respect of the second objective, the conclusion is that the coverage of different countries in Indian newspapers has not changed since 1986. Among the countries, the US remains the most reported country, and the UK gets the second-highest coverage followed by Pakistan. In all probability, these three countries would retain a high salience in the foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers in the years ahead as both the US and the UK are likely to maintain the preeminent positions in geopolitics, and global economy. Pakistan too will be in focus of Indian media as Indo-Pak relations remain plagued by hostility and suspicion.

Endnotes

1. The issues of imbalances in international news flow were discussed in UNESCO from 1972 onwards during the debates on two media-related declarations based on the resolutions moved by the Soviet Union in the 17th General Conference of UNESCO in 1972. The first resolution called for a Declaration on the Guiding Principles in the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Cultural Exchange. The Declaration which contained a provision that countries broadcasting via satellite should obtain the prior consent of nations receiving the broadcast was approved with 55 in favour, seven against and 22 abstentions. The second resolution called upon the UNESCO Director-General to prepare a declaration on the principles governing the use of mass media for strengthening peace and international understanding which came to be known as Mass Media Declaration (MMD). Irreconcilable arguments and discussions on the MMD drafts continued in every biennial General Assembly of UNESCO, from 1972 to 1978. The developing countries raised the demand for a new international information order in the midst of the debates on a draft of the MMD in the 19th session of the UNESCO General Conference, held in 1976.

2. The strength of NANAP participants grew from 12 countries in 1975 to 87 at the end of 1984. In the subsequent decade, it lost its vigour and relevance. In 2006, it was renamed as Non-Aligned Movement News Network (NNN). Presently, NNN is an Internet-based news exchange mechanism hosted by Malaysia's national news agency Bernama.

3. The US withdrew from UNESCO in 1984, followed by the United Kingdom and Singapore in 1985 only to re-join a few years later. The US rejoined in 1997, the UK in 2003 and Singapore in 2007.

4. Some such studies conducted in the early decades of the 20th century were: a study of the news of Russian Revolution in New York Times between 1917-20 by Lippman and Charles (1920), status of foreign news in 40 American morning dailies by Woodward (1930), Heindel's (1939) study of foreign news in British press, and Kriesberg's (1946) study of Soviet news in the *New York Times*.

5. Schramm and his associates had analysed 14 dillies from nine countries, namely, India, Indonesia. Hong Kong, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, South Korea, Singapore and the Philippines.

6. The present study is a part of the present author's Emeritus Fellowship project (2017 -2019) funded by the University Grants Commission of India.

7. In analysing the content of newspaper(s), researchers use either a composite week and a continuous week, or two composite weeks, excluding Sundays. The two composite week technique outlined by Stempel (1952) and Jones and Carter (1959) has been followed by several other researchers such as Budd, Thorpe and Donohew (1967), Liu and Gunaratne (1972), Vilanilam (1977), Gunaratne (1982), and Riffe et al. (1993). This technique gives equal representation to each day of the week (Monday through Saturday) and each week and month of the chosen year.

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